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MORE SHAKSPERE ALLUSIONS

This bundle of allusions to Shakspeare, supplementing the *Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, 1909, has grown by the references kindly sent to me by various scholars, by some which turned up among Dr. Furnivall's papers, and by my own notes; but especially by the references and passages so generously printed in *Notes and Queries* by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury and others. Names printed in square brackets at the end of various allusions given below indicate my indebtedness.

Biographical.—No new biographical matter appears; but some of the pieces possess biographical interest. As early as 1634 a traveler to Stratford-on-Avon refers to the "neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespeere," and to verses on Combe, which are not given, but may be the same as those quoted by Aubrey and Rowe, and mentioned at the earliest, I believe—though not as by Shakspeare—in Braithwait's *Remains* (1618). This passage of 1634 (No. 15) appears to be the earliest reference to the lines as Shakspeare's, and antedates Aubrey's notice by some forty-six years. Another piece of biographical interest is the letter of William Hall, 1694 (No. 81), to Ed. Thwaites of Queen's College, Oxford. Though, according to Sir Sidney Lee, the letter was issued as a pamphlet in 1884 (*Life*, 272, n.), a new text will doubtless be acceptable. Hall, who had visited Stratford, quotes, apparently from memory, the injunctions over the poet's tomb, and, commenting upon their "little learning"—a Jonsonian touch—describes the bone-house, "a repository for all the bones they dig up; which are so many

that they *would* load a great number of waggons." The poet, anxious to preserve his remains from transference to this place at the hands of "Clarkes and Sextons, for *the* most part a very ignorant Sort of people," descends to "*the* meanest of their capacitys." Remarking on the success of this, Hall adds: "they have laid him full Seven-teen foot deep, deep enough to Secure him" (i.e., against molestation).

It is perhaps also worth mentioning that the reputed friendship between Shakspeare and Davenant finds an echo in Flecknoe's Davenant's *Voyage to the Other World*, 1668, No. 50.

Influence on drama.—Knowledge of Shakspeare by dramatists is usually shown by the citation of "playscraps" and phrases. Such scraps occur (or have been thought to occur) in Jonson's *The Case Is Altered*, No. 1, and *Cynthia's Revels*, No. 3; in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, No. 5; in several of Shadwell's plays, No. 51; and in Nat. Lee's *Princess of Cleve*, No. 68. In many cases borrowed phrases seem to come from the printed text; in a few the influence of the theater itself seems to be clear. An interesting note sent by Professor Dowden on Austin's *Devotionis Augustinianae Flamma*, No. 14, refers to the "number'd beach" of *Cymbeline*, I, vi, 36. The phrase is glossed by Onions as: "abounding in stones or sand." Theobald emended to: "th'unnumber'd beach"; and Professor Dowden supposed that the actual words, "unnumbered beach" may have been heard by Austin in the theater. (The same sort of point arises regarding passages in *Julius Caesar*: see p. 134, below.) Similar citation of phrases occurs frequently in non-dramatic books: see Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 20, 29, 34, 37, 45, 47, 62, 65, 69, 85. Imitation of plot is not so frequent. Professor Baskervill sees some similarity between *The Case Is Altered* and *Two Gentlemen* (No. 1); Professor J. Douglas Bruce points out that Wycherley molds the Fidelia of *The Plain Dealer*, No. 58, on Shakspeare's Viola; a dialogue between Tom the taylor and Kate of the Kitchen in *Cupids Master-Piece*, No. 64, comes from the *Shrew*; and the Shylock story is versified in *Butler's Ghost*, by Durfey, No. 59.

Other similarities of plot are pointed out by Köppel in his valuable *Studien über Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* ("Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Engl. Dramas"), 1905. This evidence of Shakspeare's influence on his contemporaries consists to

a great extent of parallel passages, but also concerns similarity of plot and character. Dr. Köppel himself does not attach importance to all of his citations; and while some are unquestionable, others are unconvincing. It is, of course, often difficult to determine whether a phrase or situation is due to the influence of a predecessor, or comes from the common stock or the same source. Dr. Köppel incorporates material taken from Fleay and others, and from Ingleby's *Century of Praise* and Furnivall's *Fresh Allusions*.

It would doubtless be a convenience if all of this Shakspeare matter, constantly augmented by new finds, could be gathered together here; but it is, I think, hardly possible for several reasons to include here the allusions established by Dr. Köppel. Germany is not at present in a position to receive correspondence from this country; and there are considerations of space even for Professor Manly. For the sake of convenience, however, I append a list of playwrights and plays examined by Dr. Köppel.

Anonymous Plays: *Cromwell*, *Thos. Lord*; *Lochrine*; *Lust's Dominion*; *Merry D. of Edmonton*; *Oldcastle*, *Sir J.*; *Puritan*; *King Richard the Second*; *Valiant Welshman*; *Wily Beguiled*.

Barry, Lodowick: *Ram Alley*.

Berkeley, Sir Wm.: *Lost Lady*.

Brome, Richard: *Mad Couple Well Matched*; *City Wit*; *Court Beggar*; *Antipodes*; *English Moor*; *Love-Sick Court*; *Queen's Exchange*; *Queen and Concubine*.

Cartwright, William: *The Ordinary*.

Davenport, Robert: *City Night-Cap*.

Cooke, John: *Greene's Tu Quoque*.

Dekker, Thos.: *Shoemaker's Holiday*; *Old Fortunatus*; *Satiro-Mastix*; *Honest Whore*; *Match Me in London*; *Whore of Babylon*; *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Divell Is in It*; *Patient Grissil*; *Sir Thos. Wyat*; *Westward Ho*; *Northward Ho*; *Roaring Girl*; *Virgin Martyr*.

Field, Nathaniel: *A Woman Is a Weathercock*; *Amends for Ladies*.

Fisher, Jasper: *Fuimus Troes*.

Glaphorne, Henry: *The Lady Mother*; *Wit in a Constable*; *Hollander*.

Habington, William: *Queen of Arragon*.

Heywood, Thos.: *Four Prentices of London*; *Fair Maid of the West*; *Maidenhead Well Lost*; *Late Lancashire Witches*; *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*; *Fortune by Land and Sea*; *Iron Age*; *Golden Age*; *Silver Age*; *Brazen Age*; *Rape of Lucrece*; *Love's Mistress*; *Fair Maid of the Exchange*.

Killigrew, Thos.: *Parson's Wedding*.

Markham, Gervase, and Machin, Lewis: *Dumb Knight*.

Marmion, Shakerley: *The Antiquary*.

May, Thos.: *The Heir*.

Middleton, Thos.: *Blurt, Master Constable*; *The Phoenix*; *A Mad World*; *The World Tost at Tennis*; *Changeling*; *Game at Chess*; *Michaelmas Term*; *Five Gallants*; *A Fair Quarrel*; *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*; *Anything for a Quiet Life*; *No Wit, No Help like a Woman's*; *Mayor of Queenborough*; *Spanish Gipsy*.

Porter, Henry: *Two Angry Women of Abington*.

Randolph, Thos.: *Aristippus*; *Jealous Lovers*; *Amyntas*; Πλουτοφιλία Πλουτογαμία.

Rowley, Wm.: *A Woman Never Vexed*; *A Match at Midnight*; *Birth of Merlin*.

Rutter, Joseph: *Shepherd's Holiday*.

Shirley, James: *Royal Master*; *Gentleman of Venice*; *Love Tricks*; *Witty Fair One*; *The Wedding*; *Grateful Servant*; *The Traitor*; *Love in a Maze*; *Bird in a Cage*; *The Ball*; *Young Admiral*; *Gamester*; *Example*; *Lady of Pleasure*; *Duke's Mistress*; *Royal Master*; *St. Patrick for Ireland*; *Constant Maid*; *Politician*; *Arcadia*; *Imposture*; *Cardinal*; *Sisters*; *Court Secret*; *Triumph of Beauty*; *Captain Underwit*.

Taylor, Robert: *Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*.

Tomkins, John: *Albumazar*; *Lingua* (ascribed to Tomkins).

Wilkins, George: *Miseries of Inforst Marriage*.

The sort of evidence on influence which Dr. Köppel presents was in the *Centurie of Prayse* generally put aside into an appendix; but it is obvious that the direct allusion cannot often be dis severed from the general indebtedness to the poet, and later editors of the *Allusion-Books* have admitted a fair quantity of such material as Köppel gives.

I have purposely omitted from the text below a series of apparent allusions to *Julius Caesar* to which Professor Baskervill and Mr. Percy Simpson have drawn my attention, as they require statement and commentary together. It has always been assumed that Weever's allusions to Caesar and Anthony in his *Mirror of Martyrs* refer to Shakspeare's play, this being the likely source for his unhistoric statement; and Furnivall so printed the passage (*Allusion Book*, I, 94) under the date of its publication, 1601. But as Mr. Simpson pointed out in *Notes and Queries*, February 11, 1898, p. 105, Weever's *Mirror* was written by 1599, from his own statement in the dedication to Covell: "This Poem (Right Wor:) which I present to your

learned view, some two yeares agoe was made fit for the Print; that so long keeping the corner of my studie, wherein I vse to put waste paper. . . .” And if, as seems definitely to be the case, the date of *Julius Caesar* was actually 1599,¹ we may admit a number of earlier allusions previously rejected. Especially significant, as Mr. Simpson shows (p. 106), are phrases in Jonson’s *Every Man out of His Humor*, the “*et tu Brute*” of Carlo in Act V, sc. iv, uttered when *Julius Caesar* was, at any rate, fresh in men’s minds; and the lines,

O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason,

misquoted, when the play was unprinted (III, i: Cunningham, I, 99), thus

as reason long since is fled to animals.

Another interesting allusion to *Julius Caesar* first noted by Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 107) is commented upon by Mr. Simpson in *Notes and Queries*, March 18, 1898, pp. 216-17. It occurs in Day and Chettle’s *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, IV, i, (pr. 1659) which Henslowe records as finished by May 26, 1600:

Can[by]. You shall likewise see the famous City of Nineveh, and the stabbing of Julius Caesar in the French Capital by a sort of Dutch Mesopotamians.

Young Stroud. How the French Capitoll! nay I remember Tully’s Offices sayes the Capitoll that Caesar was stab’d in was at Rome.

Can. Impute the gross mistake to the fault of the Author.

This refers to a puppet play (on which see Simpson, *Notes and Queries*, March 18, 1899, p. 217). Concerning *Every Man out of His Humour* (on which see also *Allusion-Book*, I, pp. 58-61), Professor Baskervill says that the situation in V, 4, and the words “*Et tu Brute*,” uttered to an unfaithful ally, certainly furnish an excellent parody of the scene in which Caesar is killed. He continues: “If the passage ‘There is a tide in the affairs of men’ attracted anything like the attention from Elizabethans with their passion for aphorism and ‘sentence’ that it has attracted in modern times, there may have been a fine ironic significance in the lines of *Every Man out of His*

¹ An independent confirmation is to be derived from the fact that Simon Platter, the Basle doctor, saw *Julius Caesar* at the Globe on September 21, 1599. See *Anglia*, XXII, 456, and Wolfgang Keller’s review of MacCallum’s *Shakespeare’s Roman Plays and Their Background* in *Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 293.

Humor, III, 1, spoken of Fastidious as he rushed to overtake the money-lending merchant, 'O, hinder him not, he may hap lose his tide; a good flounder, i' faith'" (Cunningham's ed., 1872, I, p. 103). He also points out that the verses (III, 2, 109-10):

O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason,

are burlesqued in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodipoll* (III, 2):

Then reason's fled to animals, I see,
And I will vanish like Tobacco smoke.

He thinks, moreover, that the similarity of the wording of the two parodies of Anthony's words (*Every Man out of His Humor* and *Doctor Dodipoll*) tends to show that Shakspeare revised these verses of *Julius Caesar*, as he almost certainly did the passage from the play quoted in *Timber*. In *All Fools* (the end), 1599, Professor Baskervill continues, there is possibly a parody of Anthony's speech over Brutus: "This was a man." He concludes: "Other allusions have some cumulative value. In *A Warning for Fair Women*, 1599, II, ll. 766 f.:

Yet will the very stones
. . . . cry out for vengeance

resemble *Julius Caesar*, III, 2, 234 f. And lines 1040 f.:

I gave him fifteen wounds,
Which now be fifteen mouths that do accuse me.

involve a favorite metaphor of Anthony's speech (III, 1, 229 f. and 259 f.). This may, however, be a conventional figure. It occurs in Drayton's *Barons' Wars* and in Massinger's *Parliament of Love*, V, 1 (near beginning):

. . . . wounds
Of my dear friend, (which, like so many mouths
With bloody tongues, cry out aloud against me).

Köppel, *Studien über Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, p. 3, calls attention to the similarity of *Old Fortunatus*, 1600, 1, 2, —

'It vexes me no more to see such a picture, than to see an ass laden with riches, because I know when he can bear no longer, he must leave

his burthen to some other beast,'—to *Julius Caesar*, IV, 2, 21 ff. Also the speech of Fortune (1, 1) about conquerors, 'swollen with their own greatness,'

'drawn

In ivory chariots to the capitol'

amid 'The shouts of every tongue' only to die, reads like an account of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*."

Later allusions.—The later critical allusions must be considered in the light of the criticism laid down by Jonson and developed by Dryden, and of the reference by Milton to "sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child" who warbled "his native wood-notes wild." Jonson had established that Shakspeare wanted art and knowledge of the ancients; and while later seventeenth-century critics and poets regarded Jonson as the embodiment of learning and propriety, they accepted Shakspeare as the artless product of pure Nature, after the Miltonic idea, endowed with a genius independent of art and excusing the many flaws of which he was guilty. The flaws arose largely through his abstinence, as Jonson had told them, from blotting out. Edward Howard in 1673 (No. 53) adheres to the tradition with his "mighty Shakespear's nimble vein," and quotes Jonson on Shakspeare's neglect to "blot"; and an unknown writer in 1673 (No. 55), defending Dryden's labels (of which the age was fond), admires the pronouncement that "Johnson writ by art, Shakespeare by nature; . . . Beaumont had judgment, Fletcher wit," etc. A noteworthy statement representing what the period thought in general on the subject, enlivened by more definite knowledge than was perhaps usual, is provided by "Mr. G." 1694 (No. 80). Rymer's books call forth some rejoinder: "The world has been sensible that Shakespear has a great many faults," says the *Gentleman's Journal*, 1694 (No. 82), "but it does not follow, that therefore he has no Excellencies." Rymer is also attacked in *Poetae Britannici*, 1690 (No. 71; see also No. 78).

But the Restoration world, looking back on the Elizabethan, came at times to view it much as Sydney viewed the days of Chaucer, not as that brilliant era of achievement which we regard it, but as a rough world lacking refinement in literature and a sense of form, and struggling to do the impossible with a harsh language. In the case of

language especially, the later time was certain of improvement and refinement, owing to conscious effort. Shakspeare, the "first Dramatique Pen" (1673, No. 53) and founder of the stage, had the misfortune to live before the refinement of the language; and this conception of the Elizabethan time developed until the ages of Chaucer and Shakspeare seemed to some to merge into one, and the poet is represented as

weeping, since he must
At best, be Buried, now, in Chaucers Dust.
—Cavendish, 1664, No. 48.

In the comedy of social life and "Humours" the critics most of all claimed advance. What was approved of is shown by Dryden's pronouncement on Beaumont and Fletcher (*Dramatick Poesie*, 1668, p. 48), that, as compared with Shakspeare, "they understood and imitated the conversation of Gentlemen much better; whose wilde debaucheries, and quickness of wit in repartees, no Poet can ever paint as they have done." The comparison of the early and late seventeenth-century stages is refreshingly made by a writer in the *Athenian Mercury*, 1691 (No. 75). He maintains the increasing difficulty of achieving success in drama: old sources of humor had been laid aside, owing to the refinement in taste, and new sources had been almost exhausted. Men were no longer contented with the clownish farce of the old Globe and Red Bull, and the new Captain Underwits, etc., had been worked stale. Notwithstanding new tragic material in history and the discovery of the New World, the later writers were handicapped in finding available matter as compared with their predecessors, while their invented plots were monstrous and unnatural. (On Shakspeare's free use of old material, see *Poetae Britannici*, 1690, No. 71.) Poets, this writer continues, were thus often reduced to poor alterations of old plays, which they sometimes patched up "with a few mean Scenes." (For more condemnation of the rehandled plays, see *Wit for Money*, 1691, No. 76.) And on the whole the age was deficient in genius; audiences were more critical and exacting; men excelled only in writing more correctly; while the change in life and taste effected that "our Humours for the most part are better Comedy, tho' their's [the Elizabethans'] better Farce than ours."

The Falstaff allusions are, as before, plentiful. They had a special vogue during the Civil War, when the troops of opponents were contemptuously referred to in the news-sheets as "Falstaff's (or Wagstaff's) ragged regiment"—"food for powder" (Nos. 21, 22). An age of controversy delighted in the equivocation of the fat Knight with his "reasons as plenty as Blackberries" and his talk of "instinct" (Dryden, 1683, No. 62; Brown, 1690, 1699, Nos. 69, 85). The highway roguery, the men in Kendal Green, and the expressions and exploits of Bardolph and his companions were well known (Nos. 8, 19, 25, 28, 29, 34, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 51, 63). It has been pointed out in the *Allusion-Book* that the extreme popularity of Falstaff and his confederates in the latter part of the seventeenth century had probably not a little to do with the nature of the legends which became established about the poet's character and connection with inns. It is also noticeable that in these times the character of Hotspur gained attention (Nos. 43, 51, 84).

Two references to Shakspeare's works in the hands of clerics express the Puritan idea of both. One describes a minister's books as 'Lady Psalters, Cosin's Devotions, Pocklington's Altar, Shelford's Sermons, Shakespeare's Works and such Prelatical trash'; the other remarks that a Parson Cady read much, but to little purpose—"Amadis de Gaul, Knight of the Sunne, and Don Quickshot, and,—tell him of Religion and he prates Shakespeare" (Nos. 23, 24).

The general allusions are much as usual. References to the poems are not common (Nos. 27, 30, 32, 56, 59). *Hamlet*, much alluded to earlier in the century, (perhaps under the influence in part of the pre-Shakspearean play), gives place later on to Falstaff in importance, and to such plays as the *Tempest* and *Macbeth*, known especially in their altered forms.

Military duties on which I am nowadays, like most young Englishmen, engaged have left me little leisure for any literary work; and I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Rose, himself now a soldier, too, for help with the proofs of this article. Mrs. C. C. Stopes, on the eve of my departure for the Dardanelles, has very kindly undertaken the last supervision of these proofs.¹

¹ In *Allusion-Book*, I, 56, a passage is printed from one of Gabriel Harvey's notes in Speght's *Chaucer*, 1598: "The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's

1. 1597. Jonson, Ben. *The Case Is Altered* (Works: ed. by William Gifford, 3 vols., 1872, Vol. II, p. 533), III, i, 6.

True to my friend in cases of affection.

[Professor C. R. Baskervill, who sends me this reference, refers this line to *Two Gentlemen*, V, iv, 53-54:

In love

Who respects friend?

and he considers that there is some similarity in the plots of the two plays. For other Jonsonian parallels to Shakspeare see the prefatory note above.]

2. 1599. Weever, John. *Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion*. A twise seuen houres (in so many weekes) studie, London, 1599.

[Epig. xv, week iii]

A withered Hermite fūe-score winters worne
Might shake off fiftie, seeing her beforne:

[Epig. xii, week iii]

Her face is pure as Ebonie ieat blacke,
Beautie in her seemes beautie still to lacke.

Venus and Adonis; but his Lucrece, and his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, have it in them to please the wiser sort." Along with the proofs of this article Mrs. Stopes, who discovered the existence of the supposedly lost copy of Speght's work containing Harvey's *marginalia*, sends a continuation of the passage above:

"Or such poets: or better: or none.

Villa miretur vulgus: mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castaliae plena ministret aquae:

quoeth Sir Edward Dier, betwene iest, & earnest. Whose written deuises farr excell most of the sonets, and cantos in print. His Amaryllis, & Sir Walter Raleighs Cynthia, how fine & sweet inuentions? Excellent matter of emulation for Spencer, Constable, France, Watson, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Siluester, Shakespeare, & the rest of our flourishing metricians." Mrs. Stopes points out that the Latin couplet quoted here "is Shakespeare's quotation before Venus and Adonis." See the complete passage in G. C. Moore Smith's *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 1913, pp. 232, 233, and the discussion of its bearing on the date of *Hamlet*, *ibid.*, pp. viii-xii.

The following important allusion is published in the *Malone Society Collections*, I, 110, 111, from "a letter written to Sir Robert Sidney by Rowland White from Baynard's Castle on Saturday, 8 March 1599/1600," and found in Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State*, 1746, II, 175: "All this Weeke the Lords haue bene in London, and past away the Tyme in Feasting and Plaies; for Vereiken dined vpon Wednesday, with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a Rolall Dinner; vpon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made hym very great, and a delicate Dinner, and there in the After Noone his Plaies acted, before Vereiken, Sir John Old Castell, to his great Contentment." As pointed out in the *Collections*, this must be a reference to Falstaff. It is all the more important as suggesting—taken with the reference to Falstaff under the name Oldcastle in *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie*, 1604 (*Allusion-Book*, I, 136)—the popular association of the name Oldcastle with Shakespeare's great comic character, and even the possibility that the name continued in use on the stage after the publication of the 1508 quarto of *I Henry IV*.

C. R. B.

[Epig. ix, week iii]

In Battum

Battus affirm'd no Poet euer writte,
Before that Loue inspir'd his dull head witte,
And yet himselfe in Loue had witte no more,
Than one stark mad, thogh somewhat wise before.

[Mr. R. B. McKerrow in *Notes and Queries*, November 11, 1911, p. 385. The passages are printed in Mr. McKerrow's edition of the *Epigrams*, 1911, pp. 57, 56, 54. In his *Notes and Queries* article, written after Mr. A. H. Bullen had pointed out to him the Shakspearean borrowings, Mr. McKerrow shows that the first two sets of verses quoted above are indebted to *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 242-43; 247, 251; while the "eagle-sighted eies" of Epigram xi, p. 55, may be a reminiscence of the same scene, l. 226.

In view of this indebtedness to *Love's Labour's Lost*, Mr. McKerrow thinks that Weever's Battus may be Shakspeare's Biron, who says

Never durst poet touch a pen to write
Until his ink were temper'd with Love's sighs.

—*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 346-47

If so, concludes Mr. McKerrow, "Weever may, I think, claim to have written the very first scrap of critical comment upon a Shakspearean character." In his Introductory Note to the *Epigrams*, 1911, Mr. McKerrow shows that some of these were written at different dates, from 1594 to 1599. The verses *Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare* are printed in *Allusion-Book*, I, 24.]

3. 1600. Jonson, Ben. *Cynthia's Revels* (Works: ed. Gifford, 3 vols., 1872, Vol. I, p. 172, col. 1), IV, i.

Phi . . . the tune of a country lady, that comes ever in the rearward or train of a fashion.

[Cf. II *Henry IV*, III, ii, 339:

A' came ever in the rearward of the fashion.

Professor C. R. Baskervill refers me to Professor G. C. Moore Smith's note on this in *Modern Language Review*, I, 53, where Professor Smith remarks that other Shakspearean echoes have been found in Jonson's play, "especially a passage in ii, 3, echoing *Julius Caesar*, V, 5, 73-75, and one in v, 6, echoing *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, 82, 83." The passage cited above does not seem to me to imply indebtedness on Jonson's part.

4. 1600. Rowlands, Samuel. *The Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vaine*, London, 1600, Satyre 4, sig. E 2.

Be thou the Lady *Cressid*-light to mee,
Sir *Trollelolle* I will proue to thee.

[Possibly a Shakspearean allusion. Printed by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365, for comparison with the lines beginning:

Come, Cressida, my cresset light,

of *Histriomastix*. As Mr. Thorn-Drury notes, this passage was not printed in the *Allusion-Book*.]

5. 1602. Dekker, Thomas. *Satiro-mastix* or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet. London, 1602 (Pearson's *Dramatic Works of Dekker*, 1873, i, 229).

Asini[us]. Wod I were hang'd if I can call you any names but Captaine and Tucca.

Tuc[ca]. No Fye'st; my name's Hamlet reuenge; thou hast been at Paris garden hast not?

Hor[ace]. Yes Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there.

[Supplements *Allusion-Book*, I, 106-7. The reference is perhaps to the older *Hamlet*: F. P. Wilson. Noted also by Köppel.]

6. 1602. Marston, John. *Antonios Reuenge*, [the Second Parte of Antonio and Mellida] As it hath beene Sundry times acted, by the children of Paules. Written by I. M. [Device], London, 1602, sig. H2.

[Act IIII, Scena Tertia]

An. *Antonio's* dead, the foole wil follow too, he, he, he,
Now workes the sceane; quick obseruation send
To coate the plot, or els the path is lost:

[Professor J. M. Manly.]

7. 1604. Unknown. *Nevves from Graues-end*: Sent to Nobody. Nec Quidquam nec Cuiquam. London, 1604, sig. D 4.

The Horror of the Plague . . .

O Thou my Countrie, here mine eyes
Are almost sunck in warres, that rise
From the rough winde of Sighs, to see
A spring that lately courted thee
I pompous brauery, All thy Bowers
Gilt by the Sunne, perfumde with flowers,
Now like a lothsome Leaper lying,
Her arbors withring, greene Trees dying,

Her Reuells, and May-meriments,
Turned all to Tragick dreeryments:
And thou (the mother of my breath)
Whose soft brest thousandes nourisheth,
Altar¹ of *Ioue*, thou throne of Kings:
Thou Fownt, where milke and hony springs.
Europs Iewell; *Englands* Iem:
Sister to great *Ierusalem*:
Neptunes minion, (bout whose wast
The Thames is like a girdle cast,)
Thou that (but health) canst nothing want,
Empresse of Cities, *Troynouant*.

[Reflects Gaunt's speech, *Richard II*: F. P. Wilson.]

8. 1606. Dekker, Thomas. *Newes From Hell*; Brought by the
Diuells Carrier. Et me mihi perfide prodis. Tho. Dekker.
London, 1606. (Huth Library. *Non-Dramatic Works of
Dekker*, ed. Grosart, II, 132.)

. . . . his ignorance (arising from his blindness) is the only cause
of this Comedie of errors.

[Mr. F. P. Wilson, who sends this reference, says: "You get many reminiscences of Shakespeare in Dekker. For instance, when Shadow says (*Olde Fortunatus*, Pearson's ed., *Dramatic Works*, I, 114), 'I am a villaine, Master, if I am not hungrie'; when Carter says (*Witch of Edmonton*, Pearson, IV, 379), 'No harsh language, if thou lovest me'; and when Asinius says (*Satiromastix*, Pearson, I, 232), 'I owe God a death, and he will make me pay't against my will, Ile say tis hard dealing,' we are very near the presence of Sir John Falstaff."]

9. 1611. Barkstead, William. *Hiren or The faire Greeke*, 1611,
st. 62 (ed. Grosart, 1876, p. 91).

O loue too sweet, in the digestion sower!

[Cf. *Richard II*, I, iii, 236: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 426.]

10. 1615. Tofte, Robert. *The Blazon of Iealovsie* First
written in Italian, by that learned Gentleman Benedetto
Varchi translated into English, with special Notes
upon the same; by R. T., Gentleman, London, 1615, p. 63.

¹ O. Alrar.

To the Covrteovs Reader

A Caueat for all young Gentlewomen to take heed how they settle their Affection on such humerous young Youths, as are not well stayed, nor settled in their mindes, remembring this saying:

Too oft 'tis seene, that LOVE, in young-men lyes,
Not (truely) in their Hearts, but in their Eyes.

[From *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 3, 67-68:

Young men's love then lies
Not truly in their hearts, but in their eyes.

The phrase occurs again in *A Comical Dialogue Between two Country Lovers* Newcastle, no date, p. 12:

But true it is, Love seldom lies
In young Men's hearts more than their Eyes.

Professor C. R. Baskervill.]

11. 1621-1648. **Unknown.** *A Helpe to Discourse.* Or a Miscellany of Merriment Now the fourth time published and much enlarged by the former authour[s] W. B. and E. P. [Edward Phillips?] London, 1621.

[p. 154] therefore the Poet wittily obserues:

Fat paunches haue leane pates, and dainty bits
Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits.

[This, from *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 26, reoccurs in the 1627 edition: 'Now the sixth time published,' p. 123; and in a new section *Sphinx and Oedipus*, London, 1627, the following occur, pp. 279-80, 299:]

[p. 279] they [cocks] foretell seasons and changes of weather, according to the verse:

Some say for euer 'gainst that season comes,
Wherein our Sauours birth is celebrated,
[p. 280] The Bird of dawning singeth all night long,
And then they say no spirit dares walke abroad.
So sacred and so hallowed is that tune [*sic*].

—W. Shaks.

[These verses (*Hamlet*, I, i, 160) were printed in *Allusion-Book*, I, 464, from the 1640 edition of *A Helpe to Discourse*. It is to be noted that in the 1638 edition in the British Museum (12316 aa 42), the 1640 title-page of the thirteenth edition is inserted in place of the proper one, and the lines first printed by Ingleby among the Allusions may have come from this edition. The proper title of *Sphinx and Oedipus* remains and is dated 1638.]

[p. 299]

Q. What Art is that that makes vse of the most vilest things in the world?

A. Physicke makes vse of those things, some wonder were created, as of Scorpions, Flyes, Waspes, Serpents, Toads, and such like, nothing being so vile but serues for some vse, and many herein effectuall, according to the Poet:

*Ther's nought so vile that on the earth doth liue,
But to the earth some speciall good doth giue.
Nor nought so good, but strain'd from that faire vse,
Reuolts from vertue, stumbling on abuse:
Vertue it selfe turnes vice, being misapplyde,
And vice sometimes by action dignifide.*

[From *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 3, 17-22, with various minor errors. Mr. Alfred Wallis printed this passage in *Notes and Queries*, May 10, 1884, p. 374, from the 1634 edition of *Sphinx and Oedipus*, sig. P7r.

The above passages are all reprinted in the 1628 edition of *A Helpe to Discourse*, pp. 126, 286, 306. In this edition, "Now the seventh time published," occurs (p. 51) the famous sleep soliloquy. This was noted by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505, from the 11th ed., 1634.]

[p. 50] And therefore I conclude, that that content which oftentimes lodgeth not vnder a golden-fretted Roofe, may bee found napping vnder a thatcht-patcht [p. 51] Cottage. As that King sometimes in a Poeme of his to that purpose wittily complained.

O Sleepe, o gentle Sleepe, natures soft nurse, . . .

[p. 32] *Vneasie sits his robe that weares a Crowne [sic].*

[Cf. II *Henry IV*, III, i, 6-31.]

[The 1636 edition omits *Sphinx and Oedipus*, so that only the verses on sleep and fat paunches occur (pp. 51-2, 126). The 1638 edition (1640 title-page in British Museum copy) gives all quotations (pp. 51-2, 124, 303, 322). The 1648 edition, which describes itself on the title-page exactly as the 1640 title-page does, as "The Thirteenth Edition" and even copies it in describing the Oracles, etc., as "never before Printed," gives likewise all quotations (pp. 49, 119, 294, 312).]

12. 1630. Richards, Nathanael. *The Jesuite in The Celestiall Publican*. London, 1630, sig. H 7 verso (reprinted in *Richards' Poems*, 1641, p. 50).

He that dares awe his Countrey, King and State,
Smile, and yet be a villaine, all men hate,

[Cf. *Hamlet* I, v, 108; Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

13. 1631. **Unknown.** *The English Gentlewoman*, pp. 196-97.

Loves interuiue betwixt *Cleopatra* and *Marke Anthony*, promised to it selfe as much secure freedome as fading fancy could tender; yet the last Scene clozed all those Comicke passages with a Tragicke conclusion.

[I give this passage from a cutting which I have from the original book: I cannot trace the volume. Allusions to *Antony* are rare: it is not altogether certain, I think, that this passage refers to Shakspeare's play.]

14. bef. 1633. **Austin, William.** *Devotionis Augustinianae Flamma*, or, Certaine Devovt, Godly, and Learned Meditations Written, by William Austin Set forth, after his Decease, by his deare Wife and Executrix Mrs. Anne Austin London, 1635, pp. 28, 52, 280.

[p. 28] [In *Avrora Annunciationis*.]

And thou (vast *Sea*) cease to chide
Th' un-numberd *Beach*, whereon you slide.

[p. 52] [Carrols, for Christmas-day.]

ALL this Night, shrill *Chauntecleere*
(*Dayes-proclaiming Trumpeter*)
Claps his wings, and lowdly Cryes
(*Mortals, Mortals*), wake and rise.

[p. 280] [The Authors owne Funerall, made upon Himselfe.]

I now perceive, that *Rules, Paintings; Carvings; Jewels; Songs, Playes; Beautie; Buildings; varietie of Food and Raiment, &c.* had their *value* to mee, *meerely* from mine owne-estimation. (Which [now] I begin to *take-off*, and looke more *intently* on them) they begin to *vanish*; weare away; and *depart* like *Camels* and *Castles* in the *Clouds*.

[Professor E. Dowden.

With regard to the first passage Professor Dowden says in his letter: "You remember 'the number'd beach' in *Cymbeline* and Theobald's proposal

'unnumber'd':—Austin refers to his love of plays and perhaps heard *un-number'd* in the theatre."

The second passage reflects, Professor Dowden thinks, Hamlet's cock, "the trumpet to the morn" (I, i, 150).

The third passage doubtless refers to *Hamlet*, III, ii, 360-61.]

15. 1634. **Hammond, Lieutenant (?)**. *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties* Obseru'd in a seuen Weekes Journey begun at the City of Norwich and from thence into the North. On Monday August 11th 1634 By a Captaine, a Lieutennant and an Ancient, All three of the Military Company in Norwich [=title of Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS 213, fol. 315, printed in *A Relation of a Short Survey*, etc., edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, London, 1904, pp. 77-78]. Fol. 332b.

[p. 77] In that dayes trauell we came by Stratford vpon Auon, where in the Church in that Towne there are some Monuments which Church was built by Archbishop Stratford. Those worth obseruing and which wee tooke notice of were these [mention of E. of Totnes, and Sir Hugh Clopton].

A neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespeere who was borne heere.

And one of an old Gentleman a Batchelor, Mr. Combe, vpon whose name, the sayd Poet, did merrily fann vp some witty, and facetious verses, which time would nott give vs leave to sacke vp.

[Mrs. C. C. Stopes.]

16. 1636-41. **Suckling, Sir John**. *Against Fruition* [in] *Works of Sir John Suckling*, London, 1696, p. 34.

. . . . She's but an honest whore that yields, although
She be as cold as Ice, as pure as Snow.

[Cf. *Hamlet*, III, i, 136.]

To his Rival, ibid., pp. 44-45

- [p. 44] **N**OW we have taught our Love to know
That it must creep wher't cannot go,
[p. 45] Love she shall feed, but fear to nourish,
For where fear is, Love cannot flourish;
Yet live it must, nay must and shall,

While *Desdemona* is at all:
But when she's gone, then Love shall die,
And in her Grave buried lie.

[Cf., for first two lines,
Two Gentleman of Verona, IV, ii, 20.]

17. 1638. Brathwait, Richard. *A Spiritual Spicerie*, London, 1638, pp. 370-71. (Quoted by Haslewood in *Barnabees Journal*, I, 350.)

A long winter night seemed but a *Midsummer nights dreame*, being merrily past in a Catch of foure parts, a deep health to a light Mistresse, and a knot of brave blades to make up the Consort.

[Brathwait uses the name of Trinculo several times: see Haslewood, *Barnabees Journal*, I, 299, 304, 420: Professor Baskervill.]

18. 1638. Junius, R. [Young, Richard?]. *The Drunkard's Character*. London, 1638, A 7, pp. 197, 399, 425, 496, 512.

[A 7] *And in regard of others, it were as needlesse, as to lend Spectacles to Lynceus, an Eye to Argus, or to wast gilding on pure Gold. . . .*

[p. 197] Putrified Lillies smell farre worse than weeds; if vertue turne into vice; the shame is triple.

[p. 399] . . . they would speake Daggers points. [Cf. *Hamlet*, III, ii, 414.]

[p. 425] So the uxorious husband, at the first idolizeth his wife, . . . the cold wind must not blow upon her, the Sunne must be shaded from her beauty. . . .

[p. 496] It is easie for a mans sinne to live; when himselfe is dead; . . .

[p. 512] It being as true of malice, as it is of love, that it will creepe, where it cannot goe.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, printing these passages in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1913, p. 86, thinks that their number makes it appear more probable that they are reminiscences of Shakspeare; but Professor G. C. Moore Smith in *Notes and Queries*, August 23, 1913, p. 155, expresses doubt that the last passage printed above refers to the well-known line in *Two Gentlemen*, IV, ii, 19. The phrase, he remarks, "Love will creepe, where it can not goe,"

occurs in a marginal note of Gabriel Harvey's in a book of his now in the Saffron Walden Museum, and also in *Wily Beguiled* (Malone Society ed., l. 2445). The phrase also occurs among Ray's *Proverbs*.]

19. 1639. D[avenport], Robert. A Pleasant and VVitty Comedy: called, *A New Tricke to Cheat the Divell*. Written by R. D. Gent, London, 1639, sig. A 3b.

Tre[atwell]. A place more private would become my message,
And give it gentle hearing.

Wil[fe]. Pray with draw, it comes from a great man.

Chan[geable]. Came it from on of the Guard, from Sir Iohn
Falstaffe?

Nay, *Hercules* himselfe; with bumbast limbes
It should have publique audience.

20. 1641. Unknown. Political Squib preserved in Conway Papers, State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1641, Vol. CCCCLXXXVII, No. 47, leaves 47, 48, (*Calendar State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1641, p. 229).

I would not haue you so much as inquire whether it were with his Cloake-bagg stringgs or with his garters: nor engage your selfe to freshe sighes by hearing new relations. . . .

I must Confesse it is a iust subiect for our sorrowe to heare of any that does quitt his station, without the Leaue of the great one that placed him there; and yet as ill a mine as this actt has still a Romane sa[nction] as you may see by a Line of Mr [Sha]kspeares bringing in T. Tidius after a Lost [Battle?] speak[es to] his sword and bidding it fynde out his heartt adds

Bay your leaues gods
This is a Romans partt.

[The reference is to *Julius Caesar*, V, iii, 98: "By your leave, gods: This is a Roman's part." T. Tidius is Titinius. The MS is badly damaged by damp, torn, and in parts illegible. For my reading [Battle?] the printed calendar has [lady]. The squib is addressed to a fictitious Widow.]

21. 1642. Unknown. *A Perfect Diurnal of the Passages in Parliament*: From the 27 of February to the 6 of March 1642, London, March 6.

Friday the 3 of March. By Letters out of Warwickshire it is informed, that the Lord Brook hath done good service in that County, and driven Wagstaffe and his Ragged Regiment out of Stratford upon Avon, with the losse of two men, which were treacherously blown up by the enemies setting on fire the Magazine in the Town by which they thought to have done a greater mischief, but were prevented.

22. 1642-43. *Unknown*. *Mercurius Aulicus*, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court to the rest of the Kingdome; from Sunday April 9th, to Sunday April 16. Thursday April 13, 1642-3.

It was advertised from London by letters of the 12 of March, that the forces gathered out of Essex for the service of the two Houses of Parliament to the number of 3000 or thereabouts, were quartered at Saint Albans, Hartford, Ware, and other places of that Country; but that they were all raw unexperienced men, and very ill armed, food for powder onely, as Sir John Falstaffe saith in the Comedy, of his ragged Regiment.

[Similarly in the news for "Friday 5th of July, 1644," we have a similar allusion. Lord Grey leaving Stamford "is in the pursuit of Hastings with the rest of his ragged Regiment": H. Brown.]

23. 1644. *Unknown*. *Mercurius Britanicus* Communicating the affaires of great Britaine For the better Information of the People [London] From Monday the 26. of August, to Monday the 2. of Sept. 1644, pp. 385-86.

[Referring to *Mercurius Anticus*, a paper of the opposite party, the writer quotes this as describing Sir Arthur Haslerig [so] going to a Minister's house near Wantage, when:]

He saies *Sir Arthur pillaged him as thoroughly, as they of Oxford use to pillage*: that is (as he saies) of horses, bedding, pewter, &c. . . .

He saies *he barbarously cut his bookes into pieces*: Those were only some Lady Psalters, and *Cosins* Devotions, and *Pocklington's* Altar, and *Shelfords* Sermons, and *Shakespeares* Workes, and such Prelaticall trash as your Clergy men spend their Canonickall houres on.

24. 1644. **Unknown.** *The Court Mercury*, From Saturday the 10 of August, to Wednesday the 21th, Numb. 7. 1644.

From Court August the 10.

They raile much at Oxford this weeke but they doe not tell us, of Parson Cady nor his stealing of old Drums and Leaguer-Cloakes, and trades with them to poore souldiers, to whom he sells them in the Morning and wins them with Dice at Night; this Parson has read much (I meane to little purpose) and has convers'd with many Authors, as Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sunne, and Don Quickshot tell him of Religion and he prates Shakespeare for my money.

[H. Brown.]

25. 1645. **Bold, Henry.** *The Adventure*, August, 26. 1645 [in] *Poems* by Henry Bold, 1664, p. 137.

Jack urg'd me to 't, I made not any word,
Disliking *Bardolph's Edge of penny Cord*,
And vile reproach.

[*Henry V*, III, vi, 50.]

26. 1647. **Baron, Robert.** *Ἐποποιήματα, or the Cyprian Academy* by Robert Baron, London, 1647, part ii, pp. 29, 69.

[p. 29] Let this black day be from all annalls cut
Nor in the reckoning of the yeare be put,

[Cf. *King John*, III, i, Fol. p. 9:

Constance's outeries:

'Nay, rather turne this day out of the weeke, etc.: J.M.]

[p. 69] For monuments we've hung up brused armes,
To pleasers we've converted stern alarms
And dreadful marches to delightful greetings,
And harness squadrons into merry meetings.
Grim Visag'd war hath smooth'd his brow, in stead
Of mounting of a fiery barbed steed.
To fright pale foes, now all in a qualme
He cape[r]s in a Ladyes *Amphithalme*.
Binds all his nerves, and every meanes he'l prove
To the lascivious pleasing of his love.

[William Dinsmore Briggs in *Notes and Queries*, June 13, 1914, pp. 467-68, while printing these latter verses, an "obvious imitation of a famous passage in *Richard III*, comments thus:

"The remark in the *Allusion-Book* that in his *Fortunes Tennis-Ball* he [Baron] imitated Jonson's masques, does not exhaust the subject. In the same poem he steals from *Sejanus*, from *Catiline*, from the *Epigrams*, and from other pieces. His use of *Catiline* for his own 'Mirza' was remarked by Langbaine. Other poems contain other borrowings from the same poet.

"Perhaps I might also add that in *Pocula Castalia*, p. 118, opposite the epigram "To Sir John Falstaff," noticed in the *Allusion-Book*, occurs in another epigram the line

So bankrupt Sol, the wandering Knight so fair,
which is not noticed."

I note also, Part I, p. 29, a further Shakspeare reminiscence:

She is a woman, and she may be wonne,
Venus Adonis lov'd, why may not she
Prove love-sick too, and at length fancie me: . . .]

27. 1648. **Baron, Robert.** *An Apologie for Paris* For rejecting of Juno, and Pallas and presenting of Ate's Golden Ball to Venus, By R. B. Gent, Ann. Ætatis suæ 18. London, 1649, p. 85.

This powerfull Conqueror leading the King and God of Conquerors prisoner to *Venus* in a red Rose chaine. . . .

[A. Esdaile.

From *Venus and Adonis*, 110: "Leading him prisoner in a red-rose chain."]

28. 1648. **Bold, Henry.** *On Oxford Visitors*, setting up their Commissions on the College Gates, &c. 1648 [in] *Poems* by Henry Bold, London, 1664, p. 164.

Why, what's the matter *Friends*? I hope that all's safe!
D'ye run away, b'*instinct* like Sir John Falstaffe,
And stare, and huffe, and puff, as if y' had been
Mauld, by th' *unluckie Rogues* in *Kendall Green*;
The *Women*, in such *tirrits*, and *frights* do goe,
Dame Quickly, near fear'd *swagg'ring-Pistol*, so.

[Kendal Green: cf. I *Henry IV*, II, iv, 246, 257.]

29. 1648. **Taylor, John.** 'ΙΗΗΛ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΣ: or, an Ironicall Expostulation, London, 1648, sig. A 3.

Yet let none say he's broke or run away,
But (as the wiser call 't) he did *convey*
Himselfe into a *Church*, in policie,
Where he was sure none would suspect him lie.

[Cf. *Merry Wives*, I, iii: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365.]

30. bef. 1652. **Burton, Robert.** *Anatomy of Melancholy*, by Democritus Junior, London, 1652 (reprinted, London, 1845, pp. 284, 512).

[p. 284] For that deep torture may be call'd an hell,
Where more is felt, then one hath power to tell.

[Cf. *Lucrece*, 1287-88.]

[p. 512] Were beauty under twenty locks kept fast,
Yet love breaks through, and picks them all at last.

[Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 575-76.]

[Miss M. A. M. Macalister in *Notes and Queries*, May 13, 1911, p. 366. The references to Parts, etc., are, Part I, sec. 4, mem. 1, and Part III, sec. 2, mem. 2, subs. 2. These passages are in addition to those already printed in *Allusion-Book*.]

31. 1652. **Fleckno, Richard.** *Miscellania*, London, 1653 (1652 O.S.), p. 141.

From thence passing on to Black-fryers, and seeing never a *Play-bil* on the Gate, no *Coaches* on the place, nor *Doorkeeper* at the *Play-house* door, with his *Boze* like a *Church-warden*, desiring you to remember the poor *Players*, I cannot but say for *Epilogue* to all the *Playes* were ever Acted there:

*Poor House, that in dayes of our Grand-sires,
Belongst unto the Mendiant Fryers:
And where so oft in our Fathers dayes
We have seen so many of Shakspears Playes.
So many of Johnsons, Beaumonts, & Fletchers,
Vntill I know not what Puritan Teachers:
(Who for their Tone, their Language, & Action,
Might 'gainst the Stage make Bedlam a faction
Have made with their Raylings the Players as poore
As were the Fryers and Poets before:
Since th'ast the tricke on't all Beggars to make,
I wish for the Scotch-Presbyterian's sake*

*To comfort the Players and Fryers not a little,
Thou mayst be turn'd to a Puritan spittle.*

[Professor Baskervill. Printed also by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, April 22, 1911, p. 305.]

32. 1653. **Desmus, Ralph**, Philologist. *Merlinus Anonymus*. An Almanack, and no Almanack [etc., dated in ink on title, Nou. 18, 1653]. London: 1654, sig. B 4b, etc.

[Sig. B 4b] Did not *Wil Summers* break his wind for thee,
And shakespeare therefor writ his comedy: . . .

[These lines are from Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, 1651. See *Allusion-Book*, II, 19. In this mock almanac the feast days are dedicated to various well-known characters in literature, mythology, etc. Noteworthy ascriptions are:

Jan. 9-10. *Troilus and Cressida*.
March 13. *Sir Giles Goose-cap*.
March 31. *Mack-beth*.
April 10. *Bajazet 2*.
June 5. *Merry Wives of Windsor*.
June 22. *Arden of Feversham*.
Aug. 3. *Pericles Pr. of Greenland*.
Nov. 16. *Timon*.
Dec. 6. *Tarlton Senior*.
Dec. 10. *Wil Summers*.
Dec. 13. *Venus and Adonis*.
Dec. 21. *Moor of Venice*.

Professor Baskervill.]

- 33: 1653. **Fanshawe, Sir Richard**. Letter in Evelyn's *Essay on the First Book of Lucretius*, London, 1656, p. 7.

On my word (Cozen) this Piece is *The taming of the Shrew*.
What shall I say more?

[Letter from Fanshawe acknowledging receipt of Evelyn's MS, and dated Tankersley, 27 Decem. 1653.: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

34. 1654. **Desmos, K.** *Good-Ale Monopolized and the Tapsters persecuted: or Iustice, right or wrong*. Printed by Rob. Goodfellow about Midsummer Moon. 1654, p. 4.

And now as saith another reverend Author, *Shall dunghill dogs confront the Helicon? Or shall his act want Chronicles, then Pistol lay thy head in Furies Lap.*

[II *Henry IV*, V, iii, 108-10: "Shall dunghill curs confront the Helicons?", etc.]

35. 1654. Whitlock, Richard. *ZOOTOMIA, Or Observations On the Present Manners of the English*, London, 1654, p. 318.

Now can my poore Reason but assentingly pronounce, since mans *inventions* have brought him to this sad *loss*, that his *speculations* are but a *comedy of Errors*, and his *Employments Much ado about Nothing* to borrow our *Comedians titles*) that the worlds *busy man* is the *Grand Impertinent*.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, printing this passage in *Notes and Queries*, October 11, 1910, p. 345, notes that Dr. Furnivall failed to discover it owing to a wrong reference in the index of the book, and contented himself with printing the index statement only. See *Allusion-Book*, II, 35.]

36. 1655. Tomkins, John. Verses before *Dia Poemata* by E. Ellis, London, 1655, sig. B.

*To the Laurell-worthy Mr. E. E. on his
Excellent Poems. . . .*

Though Wit as precious every Scene doth hold,
As *Shakespeare's Lease* [? Leaf] or *Johnson's Massy Gold*,
Though thou with swelling Canvas sail beyond
Hercules Pillars, Fletcher and Beaumont,
And though Thou art (what ever Fooles repute)
A Poet in all Numbers Absolute;

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1913, p. 86.]

37. 1656. Cowley, Abraham. *Brutus* [in] *Pindarique Odes*. Works of Cowley, London, 1668, pp. 34.

3

There's none but *Brutus* could deserve
That all men else should *wish to serve*,
And Caesars usurpt place to him should proffer;
None can deserve't but he who would *refuse the offer*

4

I'll meet thee there, saidst Thou,
With such a *voyce*, and such a *brow*,
As put the trembling *Ghost* to sudden flight,
It vanisht as a *Tapers light*
Goes out when *Spirits* appear in sight.

One would have thought t'had heard the *morning crow*
 Or seen her well-appointed *Star*
 Come marching up the *Eastern Hill* afar.

[Professor G. C. Moore Smith.

Regarding the first lines Professor Moore Smith says: "I think the people's cry 'Let him be Caesar' (*Julius Caesar*, III, ii) is Shakespeare's and not Plutarch's." For the Plutarch passage confirming this, see *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, I, 135.

In the second stanza Professor Moore Smith compares l. 4, with *Julius Caesar*, IV, iii, 275: "How ill this taper burns." In Plutarch it is the lamp. The latter part of the stanza suggests *Hamlet*, I, i, 147-67, "the cock that is the trumpet to the morn"; and, "But look, the morn . . . Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill."]

38. 1656. **Flecknoe, Richard.** *The Diarium, or Journall*, London, 1656, pp. 45, 97, 103.

[p. 45] This man but ill advised had been,
 'Mongst other monsters he was not seen;
 For pence apiece there in the faire
 Had put down all the Monsters there,
 Who Sir *John Falstaff* made an asse on,
 And of Goodman *Puff* of *Barson*

[p. 97] *The ———'s humours, and resolute way of wooing, when he is in King Cambyeses vain* [title to poem in which Cambyeses' vein is several times referred to].

[p. 103] *A Lover (such an one, as Simple in love with Mrs. Anne Page) having bewrayed himselfe, writes to Cupid in this manner* [title of poem].

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505. On p. 96 of the *Diarium* occurs:

On the Play of the life and death of Pyrocles, Prince of Tyre.

AS longa, vita brevis, as they say,
 But who inverts that saying, made this Play.

This was printed in *Allusion-Book*, II, 31.]

39. 1658. **Bold, Henry.** *Epitaph on R. Webb*, hang'd for Ravishing a Child of five years old May, 19. 1651 [in] *Poems* by Henry Bold, London, 1664, p. 191.

Here lyes *curs't Webb!* who living, spun though short,
 So fair a thread, a Halter choakt him 'fort,
 For Bardolph's like 'twas cut with vile reproaches!
 And Edge of Penny-Cord—so Bonas noches!

[Cf. *Henry V*, III, vi, 50: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

40. 1658. Cokain, Sir Aston. *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*.
 London, 1658, pp. 27, 67.

[p. 27] He [Ch. Cotton] is an able Lad indeed, and likes
Arcadian Pastorals, and (willing) strikes
 A Plaudite to th' Epilogues of those
 Happy Inventions *Shakesphere* did compose
Beaumont and *Fletcher* he will listen to,
 And allow *Johnsons* method high and true.

[p. 67] You *Swans* of *Avon*, change your fates, and all
 Sing, and then die at *Drayton's* Funeral:
 Sure shortly there will not a drop be seen,
 And the smooth-pebbled Bottom be turn'd green,
 When the *Nymphes* (that inhabit in it) have
 (As they did *Shakespeare*) wept thee to thy grave.

[Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, 1907,
 and Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

41. 1659. Philipott, Thomas. *Villare Cantianum* or Kent Sur-
 veyed and Illustrated . . . by Thomas Philipott Esq;
 formerly of *Clare-Hall* in Cambridge. To which is added
An Historical Catalogue of the High-Sheriffs of Kent: Collected
 by John Philipott Esq; Father to the Authour. London,
 . . . M.DC.LIX, pp. 135-36.

The utmost extent of this Hundred East-ward reacheth to *Shooters-Hill*, so called of the Thievery there practised, where Travellers in elder Times were so much infested with Deprædations and bloody mischiefs; that order was taken in the sixth of *Richard* the Second, for the enlarging the High-way according to the Statute made in the Time of King *Edward* the first, so that they venter still to rob here, by prescription; [Pat. 6. R. 2. pars 2. Memb. 34] and some have been so impudent, to offer to engage the Sun shining at mid-day

for the repayment of money called borrowed, in a Theevish way, to the great charge of the Hundred that still was in the Counter-bond; and King *Henry* the fourth granted leave to *Thomas Chapman*, to cut down, burn, [Pat. 7. H. 4. pars 2. Memb. 12] and sell, all the Woods, and Under-woods growing and confining to *Shooters-Hill*, on the South-side and to bestow the money raised thereby, upon mending the High-way. Surely Prince *Henry* his Son, and Sir *John Falstaffe* his make-sport, so merrily represented in *Shakespeare's* Comedies, for examining the *Sandwich* Carriers, loading at this place, were not the Surveyers.

42. 1659. **Unknown.** *A Brief Account of the Meeting, Proceedings, and Exit of the Committee of Safety.* Taken in Short-hand, by a Clerk to the said Committee. London: 1659, p. 24.

Lambert: Farewel *Wimbleton*. Farewel my *Tulips* and my *Pictures* there; I had thought to have done as your *Protector* did, but—Oh pensive word that drawst so many sighs after thee, but I am fallen as low almost as my first rise: Sure I was in a dream, did I turn out the Parliament?

[Mr. F. J. Routledge thinks this an echo of *Wolsey* in *Henry VIII.*]

43. 1659. **Unknown.** *A Word To Purpose: Or A Parthian Dart.* Shot back to 1642, and from thence shot back again to 1659. swiftly glancing upon some remarkable Occurrences of the Times . . . the Second Impression, with Addition. Printed 1659, pp. 12, 13.

[p. 12] Do the souldiers know what they would have?
Yes, Doney, Great estates, and nothing else?
Yes, monour, and would every one be rulers in
chief, and so play the Fool or Knave with the people?
How is it possible to imagine that so many hot-spurs
that stand in *equali Gradu* one to the other,
should ever agree in a supremacy?

[I give the passage as it stands. *Doney* doubtless signifies *Money*, and *monour* signifies *honour*. P. 13 contains a reference to *Hobson's choice*: "every one shall be free in *Hobson's choice*, to take, enjoy, or have what the Army will suffer us to take, enjoy, or have." The earliest quotation in the *Oxford Dictionary* is 1660, S. Fisher's *Rusticks Alarm*.]

44. bef. 1660. **Bold, Henry.** *Latine Songs, With their English: and Poems*, London, 1685, p. 147.

New-gates black Dog, or Pistols Island Cur,
Was probably this Sires Progenitor.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.
Another allusion in the same volume is printed in *Allusion-Book*, II, 308.]

45. bef. 1661. **Unknown.** *An Exact Collection of Y^e Choicest Poems & Songs*, Relating to the late times and continued by the most Eminent Witts, from A° 1639 to 1661. [Second title: *Rump: or an Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems &c.*] London, 1662, p. 311.

Admiral Deans Funeral

25.

The Savoy's mortified spitled Crew,
If I lye, as *Falstaffe* sayes, I am a Jew,
Gave the Hearth such a look it would make a
man spew,

Which no body can deny.

[Not included in the 1660 collection of Rump poems printed, like the 1662 volume, for H. Brome. The reference is to I *Henry IV*, II, iv, 198.]

46. 1662. **Kirkman, Francis.** The Bookseller to the Reader [in *The English Lovers*, by I. D. Gent, London, 1662.

And yet our modesty will make us vail
To worthy *Sidney*, nor can we bear sail
Against these fam'd Dramaticks, one past age
Was blest with *Johnson*, who so grac't the stage,
The thrice renowned *Shakespear*, and the rare
Ingenuous *Fletcher*. These past envy are
Much more past imitation only we
Would second be o'th' first, last of the three.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 426.]

47. 1663. **Unknown.** *Cabala; or, An Impartial Account of the Non-Conformists Private Designs*, London, 1663, pp. 7-8 (printed in *Somers Collection of Tracts*, ed. by Walter Scott, London, 1812, Vol. VII, p. 571).

. . . . Whereupon Mr. *Greenhil* held forth three quarters of an hour by *Shrewsbury*-clock, as Sir *John Falstaffe* speaks, in the third of *Edward* the fourth and the fifteenth.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 426.]

48. 1664. **Cavendish, William, Duke of Newcastle.** Prefatory Verse *To the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, On Her Book of Poems* [in] *Poems and Phancies* written By the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, the Second Impression . . . London, M.DC.LXIV.

I Saw your Poems, and then Wish'd them mine,
 Reading the Richer Dressings of each Line;
 Your New-born, Sublime Fancies, and such store,
 May make our Poets blush, and Write no more:
 Nay, Spencers Ghost will haunt you in the Night,
 And Johnson rise, full fraught with Venom's Spight;
 Fletcher, and Beaumont, troubl'd in their Graves,
 Look out some Deeper, and forgotten Caves;
 And Gentle Shakespear weeping, since he must
 At best, be Buried, now, in Chaucers Dust:
 Thus dark Oblivion covers their each Name,
 Since you have Robb'd them of their Glorious Fame.

[These verses are not in the first edition, London, 1653.]

49. 1664. **Unknown.** *An Egley Vpon the most Execrable Murther of Mr. Clun*, On of the Comedeans of the Theator Royal, Who was Rob'd and most inhumanely Kill'd on Tuesday-night, being the 2^d of August, 1664, near *Tatnam-Court*, as he was Riding to his Country-house at *Kentish town*. London, printed by Edward Crowch dwelling on *Snow-hill*.

Then *Smug* and *Bessus*, *Faulstaff* and the rout
 Broke from thy Lips, to make us face about
 O! but *Iago*, when we think on thee,
 Not to applaud thy vice of Flattery;
 Yet must that Part never in our thoughts dye,
 Since thou didst Act, not mean that Subtily

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, April 22, 1911, p. 305.]

50. 1668. Flecknoe, Richard. *Sir William Davenant's Voyage to the Other World*, London, 1668, pp. 8, 9.

[p. 8] Nay even Shakespear, whom he thought to have found his greatest Friend, was as much offended with him as any of the rest, for so [p. 9] spoiling and mangling of his Plays.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

51. 1668-89. Shadwell, Thomas. *Sullen Lovers*, *Epsom Wells*, *Woman-Captain*, *Squire of Alsatia*, *Bury Fair* (*Works*, 1720 ed., I, 60, 94; II, 225; III, 348; IV, 35, 160).

[1668, I, 60] 1 Clerk reads. I do acknowledge, and firmly believe, that the Play of *Sir Positive At-All*, Knight, called *The Lady in the Lobster*, notwithstanding it was damn'd by the Malice of the Age, shall not only read, but it shall act with any of *Ben Jonson's*, and *Beaumont's* and *Fletcher's* Plays.—

Sir Positive. Hold, hold! I'll have *Shakespear's* in; 'slife I had like to have forgot that [*Sullen Lovers*, Act III].

[I, 94] *Ninny*. 'Pshaw! you! I'll pluck bright Honour from the pale-fac'd Moon, (as my Friend *Hot-Spur* says) what do you talk of that? [Act V].

[1673, II, 225] *Ber[il]*. What, I warrant, you think we did not know you?

Luna. O! yes, as *Falstaff* did the true Prince, by Instinct. You are brisk Men, I see; you run at all. [*Epsom Wells*, Act II].

[1680, III, 348] *Sir Humph[rey]*. I'll keep no Fool; 'tis out of Fashion for great Men to keep Fools . . . 'tis exploded ev'n upon the Stage.

Fool. But for all that, *Shakespear's* Fools had more Wit than any of the Wits and Criticks now-a-days . . . [*Woman-Captain*, Act I].

[1688, IV, 35] *Tru[man]*. You are so immoderately given to Musick, methinks it should justle Love out of your Thoughts.

Belf[ond] Jun. Oh no! Remember *Shakespear*; If Musick be the Food of Love, Play on—There's nothing nourishes the soft Passion like it, it imps his Wings, and makes him fly on higher Pitch . . . [*Squire of Alsatia*, Act II].

[1689, IV, 160] *Oldw[it]*. Come, my Lord Count, my Lord *Bellamy*, and Gentlemen, may good Digestion wait on Appetite, and Health on both; as *Mackbeth* says: Ah, I love those old Wits [*Bury Fair*, Act III].

[M. P. T. (of University of Michigan) in *Notes and Queries*, July 19, 1913, pp. 46-47.]

52. 1669(?) **Unknown**. Verses, set to music in Harl. MS. 6947, fol. 401 (see *Athenaeum*, August 9, 1902, p. 191, ed. J. L. Scott).

To heaven once ther caime a poett | a frend of mine swore hee did
know itt
Ould Chauser mett him in great state Spenser and Johnson at the
gate
Beamon and Fletchers witt mayd one butt Shakspeers witt did
goe aloane.

[*Chaucer Allusions*, ed. C. F. E. Spurgeon, 1914, pp. 246-47.]

53. 1673. [Howard, Hon. Edward]. *Poems and Essays* by a Gentleman of Quality, London, 1673, pp. 13, 66; *Miscellanies*, pp. 24, 81.

[p. 13] The witty Fletcher, and Elaborate Ben,
And Shakespeare had the first Dramatique Pen:
In most of their admired Scenes we prove,
Their Busines or their Passion turns to Love.

[p. 66] Thus Johnson's Wit we still admire,
With Beaumont, Fletcher's lasting fire:
And mighty Shakespear's nimble vein,
Whose haste we only now complain.
His Muse first post was fain to go,
That first from him we Plays might know.

[p. 24] *Shakespear, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Johnson*, must be nothing with them though such majestick strength of Wit and Judgment is due to their Dramatique pieces.

[p. 81] Ben *Johnson* said of *Shakespear's Works*, that where he made one blot, he wish'd he had made a thousand.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, October 16, 1909, p. 307.]

54. 1673. **Tichborne, Arth.** Verses before M. Stevenson's *Poems*, London, 1673, sig. A 4.

Tell me no more of Laureated *Ben.*,
Shakespear, and *Fletcher*, once the *wiser men*.
 Their Acts ('tis true) were Sublime! yet I see
 They 'r all Revisedly compos'd in Thee.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365.]

55. 1673. **Unknown.** *A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi*: with a Discourse held there in Vindication of Mr. Dryden's Conquest of Granada; Against the Author of the Censure of the Rota, London, 1673, p. 32.

If he tells us that *Johnson* writ by art, *Shakespeare* by nature; that *Beaumont* had judgment, *Fletcher* wit, that *Cowley* was copious, *Denham* lofty, *Waller* smooth, he cannot be thought malicious, since he admires them, but rather skilfull that he knows how to value them.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, October 16, 1909, p. 307.]

56. 1674. **Unknown.** *Wit at a Venture*: London, 1674, p. 21.

An Epitaph on a merry Wife of Windsor, that
 died of the Stone in her Bladder.

Under this Stone Moll Standford lyes,
 There's no great fear her Ghost will rise,

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

57. 1676. **Parker, Peter.** The Rape of *Lucrece*, committed by *Tarquin* the sixth, and the remarkable judgements that befell him for it. By that incomparable master of our *English Poetry Will. Shakespear*, 8°.

Books Printed for and Sould by *Peter Parker*, at the *Leg* and *Star*, right againft the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. . . . b. 4
Histories Books, Romances, Poetry &c.

[This list or catalogue is at the end of the first edition (1676) of *Elisha Cole's* well-known *English Dictionary*: explaining The difficult Terms that are vsed in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, Phylosophy, Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences London.

Printed for *Samuel Crouch*, at the Corner Shop of *Popes-head Ally*, on the right-hand near *Cornhill*, 1676.

The list contains (among many other books): *The Wildgoose-Chase*, A Comedy, being the noble, last and only Remains of those incomparable Drammatists, *Francis Beaumont* and *John Fletcher*, Folio, b3 back. The Passion of *Dido* for *Eneas*, as it is incompareably exprest in the fourth Book of *Virgil*, Translated by *Edward Waller*, Esq. 8°, b4. Pleasant Notes upon the History of *Don Quixot*, By *Edmond Gayton* Esquire, Folio, b6 back.

Mr. E. Viles told me of this "Allusion," and lent me his *Coles*. F. J. F.]

58. 1676. **Wycherley, William.** *The Plain-Dealer*, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal. Written by Mr. Wycherley. Licensed January 9, 1676, London, 1677.

[Professor J. Douglas Bruce points out that in this play Wycherley molds his *Fidelia* on Shakspeare's *Viola* in *Twelfth Night*. "Base use it is, too," says Professor Bruce. *Fidelia* in man's attire is sent by the man she loves, Captain Manly, as an emissary to *Olivia*, as he puts it to "pimp" for him (p. 39). The result is in *Fidelia's* words, p. 58, Act IV, scene i: "I spoke to her for you, but prevail'd for my self. . . ." The tone of the play is of the time.]

59. 1678. **Butler, Samuel.** *Hudibras*, the Third and Last Part, London, 1678, Canto I, ll. 281-82.

I found th' Infernal Cunning-man,
And th' Under-witch his *Caliban*,
With Scourges (like the Furies) arm'd,

[At the end of this book in some copies appears a list of "Books Printed for and sould by *Peter Parker* at the *Leg* and *Star*, right against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*," in which is: "The Rape of *Lucrece* committed by *Tarquin* the sixth, and the remarkable judgements that befell him for it, by that incomparable master of our *English Poetry*, *Will. Shakespear*. 8vo." Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 427. Cf. No. 57, above.

Mr. Thomas Bayne records in *Notes and Queries*, January 1, 1910, p. 17, that in *Durfey's Butlers Ghost*; or *Hudibras* the Fourth Part, occurs a reference to Shakspeare and Jonson, and, p. 36, a versification of the *Shylock* story.]

60. 1679. **Unknown.** *The Country Club*: A Poem, London, 1679, p. 2.

Such noise, such stink, such smoke there was, you'd
swear
The *Tempest* surely had been acted there.

The cries of Star-board, Lar-board, cheerly boys,
Is but as demy rattles to this noise,
Like whispers to a Hollow;

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, October 29, 1910, p. 345, notes that the reference is to the Dryden and Davenant version. Ben Jonson is referred to, p. 7.]

61. 1681. **Unknown.** *The Character of Wit's Squint-Ey'd Maid, Pasqui-Makers* (broadside) London, 1681.

Our *English* writers are all Transmigrate,
In Pamphlet penners, and diurnal Scribes,
Wanton Comedians, and foul *Gypsy* Tribes;
Not like those brave Heroick sublime strains,
That wrote the *Cesars*, and their noble *Reigns*.
Nor like those learned Poets so divine,
That pen'd *Mackduff*, and famous *Cataline*.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, October 29, 1910, p. 345.]

62. 1683. **Dryden, John.** *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise*, London, 1683, pp. 48.

[In addition to the allusions printed in *Allusion-Book*, II, 117-78:]

Fat *Falstaffe* was never set harder by the Prince for a *Reason*,
when he answer'd, that *if Reasons grew as thick as Black-berries*,
he wou'd not give one.

63. 1684. **Unknown.** *The Scoffer Scoffed*, London, 1684, p. 8.

And tell each *Spartan* to his face,
They are all degenerate and base;
That those who us'd to fight with Half-Staff,
Are dwindl'd now into a *Falstaff*.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1913, p. 87.]

64. 1685. **Unknown.** *Cupids Master-Piece*, or the Free School of witty *Complements* (Vol. I of Pepys' *Penny Merri-ments*).

[The dialogue called "a merry cross-wooing between *Tom* the taylor and *Kate* of the Kitchen" is taken from *Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 181-226. The scene has been shortened, and there are many varieties in wording. Ll. 181-85, 189, 193-98, 208, 209, 215, 216, 222-26 of the play are used: Professor Baskervill.]

65. 1685-86. **Higden, Henry.** *A Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal* By Henry Higden, London, 1686, pp. 45, 47. [Licensed November 11, 1685.]

[p. 45] If to divert his Pangs he try
Choice Musick, Mirth or Company,
Like *Bancoe's* Ghost, his ugly Sin,
To marr his Jollity, stalks in;

[Note 23, sig. I b, reads: "*Bancoes Ghost*. In the Tragedy of *Mackbeth*, where the coming in of the Ghost disturbs and interrupts the Entertainment. Page 45."]

[p. 47] Bath'd in cold Sweats he frighted Shreiks
At Visions bloodier than (24) King *Dick's*

[Note 24, sig. I b, reads: "*Vision Dicks*. In the Tragedy of *Richard* the 3d."]

66. 1687. **Unknown.** *Auction-Sale Catalogue of Sir W. Coventry's Books* (British Museum, 1422. c 5(4), dated May 9, 1687).

[Mention of a first folio.

Mr. Edward B. Harris in *Notes and Queries*, Jan. 4, 1913, pp. 8-9.]

67. 1689. **Carter, John.** A | Poem | to the | Memory | of | George Lord Jefferies. | in The | Bloody Assizes: | Or, a Compleat | History | of the | Life | of | George Lord Jefferies, | from | His Birth to this Present Time. | Wherein, | Among other things is given a true Account of his un- | heard of Cruelties, and Barbarous Proceedings, in his | whole Western-Circuit. | Comprehending | The whole Proceedings; Arraignment Tryals and Condemnation | of all those who Suffer'd in the West of England, in the year 1685. | With their undaunted Courage at the Barr, | their Behaviour in | Prison, their Cruel Whippings afterwards, and the remarkable | Circumstances that attended their Executions. | To which is added Major Holmes's Excellent Speech, with the Dying | Speeches and Prayer of many other Eminent Protestants. | None of which were ever before Publish'd. | Faithfully Collected by several West. Countrey Gentlemen, who | were both Eye and Ear-Witnesses to all the Matter of Fact. | With Allowance. | London, Printed for J. Dunton at the *Black Raven* in the

*Poultry, over against | the Compter, and sold by R. Janeway
in Queens-Head Alley in Pater-noster-row. 1689. sig. A 3.*

*Then room for bloody Jefferys, or he'll swear
By all the Aps from St. Cadwallader;
Prutus hur creat Cranfather, if hur enquire,
And Adam's Cranfather was Prutus sire;
Famous ap Shenkin was hur elder Brother,
Some Caledonian Sycorax hur Mother:
Or some she-De'il more damn'd than all the rest.
At their black Feast hur lustful Sire compest:
Thence do I think this Cacademon rose,
Whose wrathful Eyes his inward baseness shows.*

68. 1689. Lee, Nathaniel. *Princess of Cleve*, As it was Acted at the Queens Theatre . . . by Nat. Lee Gent, London, 1689, Act V, sc. i, p. 62.

Pol[trot] . . . nay, o' my conscience thou wou'dst not give him time to speak, but hunch'd him on the side like a full Acorn'd Boar.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, April 22, 1911, p. 305. Cf. *Cymbeline*, II, v, 16.]

69. 1690. [Brown, Thomas?] *The Late Converts Exposed: or, the Reasons of M^r Bays's Changing his Religion*, Part the Second, London, 1690 (Licensed January 8, 1689), pp. 35, 42.

[p. 35] *Bays. Must, Mr. Eugenius?* What do you give the *Must* to a man of my Character and Gravity? Were Reasons as cheap as Black-berries, I'de not give you one I gad upon compulsion.

. . . .

[p. 42] *Eugen.* . . . the first Missionaries of our Religion, bequeath'd but twelve Articles to be believ'd by us, and she has lately improved them into the jolly number of *Falstaff's Buckram-men*, twenty-four.

[For the first passage cf. I *Henry IV*, II, iv, 265.]

70. 1690. Durfey, Thomas. *Collin's Walk through London and Westminster*, London, 1690, pp. 148-49.

To this rare place where Wit is taught,
 [the playhouse]
 The Major now had *Collin* brought;
 The House was Peopled with all sorts,
 The Cities product and the Courts,
 An Ancient Comick Piece they knew,
 Intitld the Fair of *Bartholomew*,
Collin first thought as he came in,
 It had a Conventicle bin,
 And that mistaking of the day,
 The Major brought him there to pray;
 He saw each Box with Beauty crown'd,
 And Pictures deck the Structure round;
Ben, *Shakespear*, and the learned Rout,
 With Noses some, and some without.

[Mr. Thomas Bayne in *Notes and Queries*, January 1, 1910, p. 17.]

71. 1690. [Unknown.] *Poetae Britannici*, a Poem, [London, 1690.]
 pp. 7-8, 11.

- [p. 7] Nor can we *Ry . . . r's* Memory forget,
 Who only wants good Nature and good Wit.
 A more than *Scythian* Heart, that could presume
 To bite the Dead, and vex the Peaceful Tomb.
- [p. 8] Who talk'd to *Shakespear* in Heroick Tone
 Where lay a Genius; and produc'd his own
 As *Edgar* with *Othello* could be read,
 And *Tom Tram's* Story vy'd with *Holingshead . . .*
- [p. 11] Ev'n *Shakespear* sweated in his narrow Isle,
 And Subject *Italy* obey'd his Style.
Boccace and *Cynthio* must a Tribute pay
 T' enrich his Scenes, and furnish out a Play.
 Tho' Art ne'er taught him how to write by Rules,
 Or borrow learning from *Athenian* Schools:
 Yet He with *Plautus* could instruct and please,
 And what requir'd long toil, perform with ease.
 By Native Strength so *Theseus* bent the Pine,
 Which cost the Robber many years Design.
 Tho' sometimes Rude, Unpolish'd and Undress'd
 His Sentence flows more careless than the rest.
 But when his Muse complying with his Will,
 Deigns with informing heat his Breast to fill,

Then hear him Thunder in the pompous strain
Of *Æschylus*, or sooth in *Ovid's* Vein.
Then in his Artless Tragedies I see,
What Nature seldom gives, Propriety.
I feel a Pity washing in my Eyes
When *Desdemona* by her Husband dies.
When I view *Brutus* in his Dress appear,
I know not how to call him too severe.
His rigid Vertue There atones for all,
And makes a Sacrifice of *Cæsar's* Fall.
Nature wrought Wonders then; when *Shakespear* d'y'd
Her dearest *Cowly* rose, drest in her gaudy Pride.
So from great Ruines a new Life she calls,
And builds an *Ovid*, when a *Tully* falls.

72. 1690. Unknown. *The Folly of Priest-Craft*. A Comedy.
London, MDCXC, p. 18.

Leu[casia]. . . . to see you hugging him in your Bosom for a
converted Saint, it seem'd to me as preposterous as to see the Bear
making Love to the Gentlewoman with the Bears-face, or the Woman
in *Shakespeare*, kissing the Fellow with the Asses-head.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, March 12, 1910, p. 204.]

73. 1691. Unknown. *The Athenian Mercury*, Vol. II, No. 17,
Tuesday, July 21, 1691.

Quest[ion]. 2. *Why do you pretend to Such strange things, and yet
in effect tell the World nothing but what we all know already?*

Ans[wer]. There's another of 'em, but we must take the *Liberty*
to say, that we doubt the Gentleman who proposed it is hardly a
fair *Representative* for all the *World*, since he has chosen himself a
Parliament Man for the Universe, as *Trincalo*, by his own Vote
declar'd himself Viceroy over the *Enchanted Islands*.

74. [Ibid.] Vol. IV, No. 13, Tuesday, November 10, 1691, p. 1.

Quest. 2. *If our Lovers Sing to us, whether we ought to Praise 'em.*

Ans[wer]. There seems no great matter in't of one side or t'other—
. . . . [they] perswade themselves that they sing like *Bowman*
himself, when perhaps they *Sing* and *Dance* too like the *Witches* in
Mackbeth, or *Scaramouch* a Serenading his Mistress.

[p. 2, col. 1]

Quest 5. *Suppose a Man and Woman were shut up in a room together, who had never seen nor heard of the difference of Sexes before, how d'ye think they'd behave themselves?—would they——*

Ans^w. We say . . . that we don't know what to say. We are very unwilling to send the Ladies to *Daphnis* and *Chloe* for Information—that Book is too *waggish* in some places, and not *spiritual* enough for 'em: As for the *Tempest*, that dont come up to the Question, tho *Mirande* and *Hypolito* are pretty fair for't, who had never seen, tho' they had heard of *Man* and *Woman*.

75. [Ibid.] Vol. V, No. 1, Tuesday, December 1, 1691.

Quest[ion]. 3. *Do the Modern English Dramatique Writers excell most, or those of the last age?*

Ans[wer]. Those who first brought our Stage any thing near the Ancients, as *Shakespear*, *Johnson*, and some few more, had not only most of 'em a great *Genius* of their own to shape and mould what they found, but a vast stock of *Matter* to set up with, and therefore no wonder they were such great Traders. For Tragedy, they had then not only all the History, but even all the Fable of the World to work upon, as well as the Works of other Tragaedians, both Greek and Latin; and for Comedy, as well all the *Fools* of former Ages as our own *plentiful Crop*. But our more Modern Writers are either in History forc'd to graft on what their Forefathers have done before 'em, whom it may sometimes happen, they may *mend* for the worse, and strike out *Beauties* instead of *Faults*; or else *patch* 'em up with a few *mean Scenes* in comparison of what they so badly imitate—Or if they tread new paths, be forc'd to invent monstrous and unnatural Stories, which can never do well upon the stage, where we expect the *Image of Life*. And then for Comedy (with reverence to all the *Quality of Pit and Box* be it spoken) our Fools are now almost all *exhausted*, and the same *Fool* seldom does well *twice*; and besides, we require better bred Fools than our Forefathers were contented with, for a Merry Millar or *Cobler* wou'd make Excellent Sport at the *Red-Bull* or *Globe*, whereas nothing will down with us now under *Lawyers Clerk*, or a *Countrey Gentleman*. Now tho' it must be confess'd there have been new Fields open'd for Tragedy, both by the

Discovery of a *new World*, and many great accidents in this: And tho' we have now and then a *New fashion'd Folly* or *Humour* starts up to divert the *World* first, and the *Stage* afterwards; yet neither are the Instances of the former kind very numerous, nor are all *strange* or dreadful *Stories* fit for *Tragedy*; nor in the latter case, are there enough without a great deal of Art in the Cooking of 'em, to satisfie the sharp Stomachs of such Audiences as will be all Criticks in spite of Nature. For which Reasons we think that one who hits the true Air either of Tragedy or Comedy in this Age, performs a more difficult task than those who did so formerly. Upon the whole, tho' we have few, if any Writers at present, whom Nature has given so *great a Genius*, or such *strong Thoughts* as those of former Ages, yet we certainly write more *correctly* than they did, and our *Humours* for the most part are *better Comedy*, tho' their's *better Farce* than ours.

76. 1691. **Unknown.** *Wit for Money: or Poet Stutter.* A Dialogue between *Smith, Johnson* and *Poet Stutter*, London, 1691, pp. 4, 10.

[p. 4] *Johnson.* . . . To tell you the truth, as Mr. *Dryden* sacrifices a *Bussy d'Ambois* to the memory of *Ben Johnson*, I sacrifice one of these [poor books] yearly to the memory of *Shakespear, Butler*, and *Oldham*.

[p. 10] *Johnson.* Do you take him for such an ill Taylor that he cannot dress any Wit as it ought to be?

Smith. Even so, witness his laying violent hands on *Shakespear* and *Fletcher*, whose Plays he hath altered so much for the worse, like the Persecutors of Old, killing their living Beauties by joining them to his dead lameless Deformities.

77. 1692. **Unknown.** *An Historical History of England and Wales* in three Parts, London, 1692.

Shakespear (Will) B. at Stratford in Warwick-Sh. was in. some sort a Compound of three eminent Poets, Martial, Ovid and Plautus the Comedian. His Learning being very little, nature seems to have practised her best Rules in his Production. The Genius of this our Poet was Jocular, by the quickness of his wit and Invention; so that *Heraclitus* himself might afford a smile at his

comedies. Many were the Witty Combats between him and Ben. Johnson. He died 1616 and buried at Stratford.

[Mr. Maurice Jonas in *Notes and Queries*, June 6, 1914, p. 447. Mr. Edward Bensly and Mr. William Jaggard in *Notes and Queries*, June 20, 1914, p. 495, show that the passage is based on Fuller's *Worthies*. See *Allusion-Book*, I, 483.]

78. 1692. **Unknown.** Article [in] *Gentleman's Journal*, London, December, 1692, p. 15.

Mr. *Rhymer*, like some of the *French* that follow *Aristotle's* Precepts, declares [in the *Short View of Tragedy*] for *Chorus's*, and takes an occasion to examin some Plays of *Shakespear's*, principally *Othello*, with the same severity and judgment with which he criticized some of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher's* in his Book called, *The Tragedies of the last Age*. . . . The Ingenious are somewhat divided about some Remarks in it. . . .

79. 1693. **Unknown.** *Athenian Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 1, October 24, 1693.

Quest. 4. *What Books of Poetry wou'd you Advise one that's Young, and extreemly delights in it, to read, both Divine and other?*

Answ. . . . *Spencer's Fairy Queen*, &c., *Tasso's Godfrey of Bulloign*, *Shakespear*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, *Ben. Johnson*, *Randal*, *Cleaveland*, *Dr. Donne*, *Gondibert*, *WALLER*, all *DRYDEN*, *Tate*, *Oldham*, *Flatman*, *The Plain Dealer*—and when you have done of these, We'll promise to provide you more.

80. 1694. "G., Mr." On *Shakespear* by Mr. G. [in] *Gentleman's Journal*, London, October and November, 1694, p. 275.

On *Shakespear* by Mr. G.

Shakespear, the Prop and Glory of the Stage,
Adorn'd a rough and charms a polish'd Age;
True as the Life the vocal Painter Drew,
Yet the nice Paths of Learning never knew.
His matchless works proceeded from his Wit,
The learned proud to read, and copy what he writ.
Each line the force of manly Sence displays,
In equal Words he mighty Thoughts arrays;

And, taught by Nature above Art to write,
 Scorns his dull Critics and their feeble spight.
 Oh could but *Anthony* or *Brutus* know
 What words and thoughts his lines on them bestow,
 Amaz'd they'd blush to find themselves outdone,
 Yet thank the Poet, and their Pictures own.
 How great is he by whose creating Mind
 Great Romans greater than themselves we find!
 How well the Bard to his unrivall'd Praise,
 Could manage Souls and every Passion raise!
 Hark! how bold *Brutus* do's harangue the croud,
 Moves the dull Rout, till it assents aloud.
 Now hear how *Anthony* o're *Caesar* mourns,
 And on his Foes the raging Tempest turns!
 See how the daring Chiefs with heat debate,
 With Flegm reflect, and, struggling still with fate,
 Those last of *Romans*, more then Men in all,
 Not to outlive their Countries Freedom, fall.
 Such scenes let *Shakespear's* snarling Critics write,
 And cease to bark till they have Teeth to bite.

[The piece is introduced with an editorial note: "Here are some Verses on a poet whose old ones are still most acceptable to the Town, tho they want the Charms of Novelty."]

81. ca. 1694. Hall, William. Letter to Edward Thwaites.
 Oxford, Rawlinson MS Bodl. D. 377, fol. 90.

Dear Neddy

I very greedily embraced this occasion of acquainting you wth something w^{ch} I found at Stratford upon Avon. That place I came unto on Thursday night, and y^e next day went to visit y^e ashes of the Great Shakespear w^{ch} lye interr'd in that Church. The verses w^{ch} in his life-time he ordered to be cut upon his tomb-stone (for his Monument have others) are these w^{ch} follow;

Reader, for Iesus's sake forbear
 To dig the dust enclosed here:
 Blessed be he that spares these stones,
 And cursed be he that moves my bones.

The little learning these verses contain, would be a very strong argument of y^e want of it in the Author; did not they carry something in them w^{ch} stands in need of a comment. There is in this

Church a place w^{ch} they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up; w^{ch} are so many that they w^d load a great number of waggons. The Poet being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them; and haveing to do wth Clarks and Sextons, for y^e most part a very [i]gnorant sort of people, he descends to y^e meanest of their capacitys; and disrobes himself of that art, w^{ch} none of his Co-temporaries wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design mist of its effect; for lest they sh^d not onely draw this curse upon themselves, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seven-teen foot deep, deep enough to secure him. And so much for Stratford, within a mile of w^{ch} S^r Robinson lives, but it was so late before I knew that I had not time to make him a visit

. . . . Pray give my service to Jack White, Harry Bird, and to all my Lichfield acquaintance when you see them, and to all those also that shall ask after me. As for the Staffordshire words we talked of, I will take notice of them and send them. Pray let me hear from you at M^r Hammond's Man's return, wherein you will greatly oblige

Your friend and Servant

W^m. Hall

Direct your letter for W^m Hall Jun'
at y^e White-hart in Lichfield

[The letter is addressed: "For M^r Edward Thwaites in Queen's College in Oxon." It was printed in pamphlet form by J. O. Halliwell—Phillipps, June, 1884, in modernized spelling. The next letter from Wm. Hall to Thwaites bound in the volume is dated "Lichfield Jan. 2d 9½": it gives a list of dialect words remarkable as being early: "to scale a fire—to rake out y^e ashes; in y^e mean cur[?]*—iv avrē φόρω*; to barnish—to grow thick; to glaver, a glaverer—to fawn or flatter; cockers—startups, a sort of woollen stockings; to cocker—to pamper; cranny or crank—wanton; fasantly—orderly; haunty—high fed; caddy—wanton; a lathing—an invitation: in the north, we use *to late*, to invite; to dether—to quake for cold."]

82. 1694. Unknown. Article [in] *Gentleman's Journal*, London, April, 1694, p. 82.

The Miscellaneous Letters, and Essays on several subjects directed to Mr. *Dryden*, and several other eminent men of the age are design'd

by their variety to please. . . . The Author therefore has taken care to gratify ev'ry one in his way. In the critical Part, *Shakespear*, *Cowley*, *Waller*, &c. are defended, against those who have attack'd their Excellence. The world has been sensible that *Shakespear* has a great many faults, but it does not follow, that therefore he has no Excellencies. Mr. *Rymer* has a little too violently inforc'd the Errors of this excellent Poet, and levell'd him with the most despicable Poetasters. This Gentleman who opposes him has endeavour'd to set his faults in a juster light, and to vindicate his Excellencies.

[The pagination is confused: this comes from the second page 82, following page 98.]

83. 1694. **Unknown.** *Innocui Sales*: a Collection of New Epigrams, London, 1694, p. 16.

In *Shakespear* read the Reason mixt with Rage,
When *Brutus* with fierce *Cassius* does engage
In loud expostulations in the Tent,
The heights of Passion, Turns, and the Descent
Observe, and what th' art likely to despise,
Is that in which th' Excellence chiefly lies.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365.]

84. 1698. **Pix, Mrs. Mary.** *Queen Catharine*: or the Ruins of Love. A Tragedy as it is acted at the New Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn-Field, By His Majesty's Servants. Written by Mrs Pix, London, MDC XCVIII.

PROLOGUE

Spoken by Mr. *Batterton*

A heavy English Tale to day, we show
As e'er was told by Hollingshead or Stow,
Shakespear did oft his Countries worthies chuse,
Nor did they by his Pen their Lustre lose.
Hero's revive thro' him, and *Hotspur's* rage,
Doubly adorns and animates the Stage:
But how shall Women after him succeed,
And what excuse can her presumption plead.
Who with enervate voice dares wake the mighty
dead;

[F. J. Furnivall.]

85. 1699. **Brown Mr., &c.** *A Collection of Miscellany Poems, Letters, &c.* By Mr. Brown &c., London, 1699, pp. 318, 327, 338.

[p. 318] Then, when we have mix'd all these noble ingredients, which, generally speaking, are as bad as those the Witches in *Mackbeth* jumble in the caldron together to make a Charm, we fall too contentedly, and sport off an afternoon.

[p. 327] I can answer for nobody's palat but my own: and cannot help saying With the fat Knight in *Harry the Fourth*, If sack and sugar is a sin, the Lord have mercy on the wicked.

[p. 338] Even that Pink of Courtesie, Sir *John Falstaff* in the Play, who never was a niggard of his lungs, yet wou'd not answer one word when the *must* was put upon him. 'Were Reasons,' says that affable Knight, 'as cheap as Blackberries I wou'd not give you one upon compulsion,' which is but another word for Duty.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, March 12, 1910, p. 204.]

86. 1700. **Unknown.** To the Memory of John Dryden Esq [in] *Luctus Britannici*, London, 1700, p. 36.

Methinks I see the Reverend Shades prepare
With Songs of Joy, to waft thee through the Air . . .
Where *Chaucer, Johnson, Shakespear*, and the rest,
Kindly embrace their venerable Guest.

[*Chaucer Allusions*, 1914, p. 287, ed. C. F. E. Spurgeon.]

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JOHN MUNRO

OXFORD

ON THE DATE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF *PERICLES*

Although *Pericles* (first published in 1609) is a play of problems, scholars are now virtually agreed in believing that the drama substantially as it has come down to us was acted before May 20, 1608, the date of its entry on the Stationers' Register, and that the version so acted represents the reworking of an earlier drama on the *Pericles* story. Some scholars, indeed, believe that they can date this earlier production with some accuracy and determine its authorship with considerable certainty. Fleay, for example, affirms that *Pericles* was originally produced by Wilkins for the Globe, in 1606, and ridiculed in *The Puritan*, entered on the Stationers' Register in August, 1607.¹ In his *Introduction to Shakespearean Study* (p. 28), he argues that *The Puritan* was written in 1606, since July 13 is mentioned in the drama as falling on a Sunday, the case in the years 1600, 1606, 1612. This theory, if accepted, would assign Wilkins' *Pericles* to rather an early date in 1606.

A later theory is the one advanced by H. T. Baker,² that Wilkins, ca. 1607, wrote a complete drama on *Pericles*, probably using as his sources two dramas of the late sixteenth century, one dealing with *Pericles* and his wife, the other with the fortunes of Marina (p. 112). After Wilkins had disposed of his drama to the King's Company, thinks Baker, the company turned it over to Shakespeare for revision; and Wilkins in turn anticipated the publication of the play by publishing, in 1608, his novel based essentially on his own version of the drama. The revival of interest in the *Pericles* subject late in 1607 and in 1608, he believes, was probably due to the reprinting of Twine's *Patterne of Painfull Adventures* in 1607.

Now, although D. L. Thomas³ has given some very strong reasons for thinking that Wilkins had not anything to do with the play *Pericles*, and although Fleay's idea that the drama of Wilkins was

¹ *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 58.

² *PMLA*, XXIII, 109 ff.

³ *Eng. Stud.*, XXXIX, 210 ff.

parodied in *The Puritan* (1606) is by no means convincing,¹ nevertheless there is some reason for believing that a play on Pericles was acted by the King's Company late in 1606 or early in 1607. In the event of such a performance, the reprinting of Twine's *Painfull Adventures* in 1607, instead of renewing the interest in the matter of Pericles, would be the result of a renewal of interest attending the performance of the play; and the view of Baker and Brandes regarding the transaction, as described above, between Wilkins and the King's Company would be seriously shaken.

What evidence, then, have we for the performance of a *Pericles* late in 1606 or early in the following year?

In 1617 Foscari, the Venetian ambassador, was tried for the neglect of his ambassadorial duties. One of the accusations brought against him was that he attended public comedies in England, and sometimes stood among the people in order to get a glimpse of a "spiritual daughter" of a certain monk.² On April 17, 1617, a certain interpreter, one Odoardo Guatz, testified that he believed "all the ambassadors who have come to England have gone to the play more or less." And obviously giving a concrete illustration of a Venetian ambassador who attended the regular theater, he affirmed that "Giustinian went with the French ambassador and his wife to a play called *Pericles*, which cost Giustinian more than 20 crowns. He also took the Secretary of Florence."³

Now let us try to determine as nearly as possible the date of this occurrence. Zorzi Giustinian arrived as ambassador in London on January 5, 1606;⁴ he was recalled August 16, 1608;⁵ he left London November 23, 1608.⁶ Boderie, the French ambassador, arrived at

¹ The "parody" of *Pericles* referred to by Fleay is the revival of Corporal Oath in V. ii, which parodies the scene of Thaisa's recovery; i.e., a corporal wounded in the leg and then drugged—a ruse planned early in the play for the sake of the plot—is a parody of a lady put into a coffin and revived by means of medicine and music. There are no verbal similarities between the two scenes, no similarities in general situation or in details such as would inevitably be the case in parody or burlesque. If the scene in *The Puritan* is parody at all, then there is no reason for considering it a parody of Thaisa's recovery any more than a parody of various other resuscitations—Wyt's recovery in *Wyt and Science*, for example, or the revival of St. George through the agency of the doctor in English folk drama.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1615–17, p. 599.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 600.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1603–7, pp. 310–11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1607–10, p. 160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

London on May 16, 1606;¹ he remained in England on his first mission for some time after the Venetian had returned to Italy. Boderie's wife, who before her marriage to him in 1595 had been married to Pierre de Hacqueville, was, as the result of her popularity at court, a great help to her second husband in ascertaining English conditions.² Whether she came over to England with her husband in May, 1606, I do not know, but she was certainly in London early in April of the following year; and she had been there long enough to become a favorite at court.³ Evidently she remained with her husband until his return to France.⁴

Giustinian seems early to have been on intimate terms with the Frenchman. On May 18, 1606, for example, he wrote that Boderie had arrived and "has publicly announced his intention of maintaining a close and perfect understanding with me. . . . I sent my secretary to him, and as soon as the formal reception is over I will visit him myself."⁵ Before May 31 he had visited the French representative.⁶ Boderie's letter of June 3, 1606, implies more or less intimacy between himself and Giustinian (*Ambassades*, I, 76-77); a few days later Boderie and Giustinian were placed in the same compartment on their visit to Parliament (*ibid.*, 95); and late in 1606 the relationship between the two seems to have been exceptionally close, a circumstance largely due to their common animosity to the Spanish ambassador and their jealousy of Spain in the matter of precedence at courtly functions. On February 15, 1607, Giustinian referred to "the French ambassador with whom I am on intimate terms."⁷ The performance, then, referred to above, must have taken place after May 18, 1606; and there is no reason why Giustinian should not have invited the Frenchman and his wife to a play in November or December of 1606, or early in 1607.

The Secretary of Florence referred to by Guatz is apparently Lotto, agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.⁸ Molin, in his English

¹ *Ibid.*, 1603-7, p. 351.

² *Ambassades de la Boderie*, ed. 1750, pp. xxxvi-xxxix.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 310, 349; III, 122, 224.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 351.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁸ Cf. Wotton, ed. of Smith, I, 388, note 2.

report drawn up in 1607,¹ affirms that the Duke of Tuscany kept a secretary at the English court, "but without letters of credence, though he is recognized and honoured as a secretary. His charming manners render him highly agreeable to the King." He seems to have been in England as early as May, 1606.² Just when he was withdrawn from James's court, I have been unable to ascertain, but it seems that he was in England as late as March 4, 1608. Speaking on this date of the *petite guerre* which seemed to be inevitable between England and Florence, Boderie writes that the Florentine Secretary was called before the English counselors and informed of the fact that six large ships were to be sent to make war on his native city.³

The Secretary of Florence, then, was apparently in England during the entire period of Giustinian's residence there, but it seems hardly likely that the Venetian during the latter part of his embassy would have invited Duke Ferdinand's representative to a public performance in company with the French ambassador. From August, 1607, until his death, the Duke of Tuscany was very unpopular in England;⁴ hence it is not probable that after this date, Giustinian, who was extremely eager to retain the good will of James, and who himself was apparently somewhat jealous of Tuscany, would have invited to a public spectacle the representative of an unpopular sovereign. In August, 1606, however, Giustinian's acquaintance with the Florentine's affairs implies a certain amount of intimacy. On August 10, for instance, he wrote that the "Grand Duke's secretary is doing all he can to obtain leave to raise the crews for two large ships which his master has bought at Amsterdam,"⁵ and on August 24 he informed the Doge and Senate that the court had refused the secretary's request.⁶ As we shall see later, there is a special reason why Giustinian should have invited the Secretary of Florence to a performance of *Pericles* late in 1606 or early in the following year.

If, then, we believe, for reasons given above, that Giustinian took the French ambassador and the secretary of the Grand Duke

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 520.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

³ *Ambassades*, III, 154.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, pp. 29 ff.; Smith's edition of Wotton, I, 387; Boderie, *Ambassades*, III, 154; IV, 72-73.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 385.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

to *Pericles* before August, 1607, the occurrence must have taken place between May 18, 1606, and the date just given. The time of the Venetian's special performance can be further restricted, for, as we have already seen, the play was given in a regular theater. Now an examination of the table of plague deaths prepared by Murray¹ reveals the fact that the death-rate in London from the plague exceeded thirty between the week ending July 10, 1606, and the week ending November 13, 1606; and as Murray has pretty conclusively shown,² the London theaters from *ca.* 1603 to *ca.* 1608 were regularly closed whenever the weekly death-rate exceeded thirty. From November 13 to December 4, however, fewer than thirty people a week died of the plague in London; and on November 16 Giustinian wrote that the plague had ceased and that Parliament had been summoned.³ On December 4 the death-rate had again exceeded thirty. Such remained the case until January 1, 1607. Notwithstanding this fact Parliament remained in session, and the King's Company, which had returned from the provinces, acted nine plays at court between December 26, 1606, and February 27, 1607.⁴

A question of importance to us is whether the theaters remained closed during the two weeks, November 20 to December 4, or whether they opened soon after November 20, and remained open during the period between December 4 and the following January 8. Murray inclines to the former view.⁵ But he is hardly consistent; for on the same page he writes: "Though on five occasions the weekly death-rate from the plague reached thirty between January 8 and July 9, 1607, it seems probable that the theatres remained open. From July 9 to Nov. 19, however, the plague was more severe and the players were forced to travel." It is perhaps impossible to settle the matter definitely, but it seems to me just as probable that the King's Company, returning hastily to London late in November, 1606, as soon as the death-rate fell below thirty, were allowed to perform throughout December in preparation for the Christmas performances. At any rate, the plague was not considered sufficiently severe

¹ *Eng. Dram. Companies*, II, 186.

⁴ *Murray*, I, 151.

² *Ibid.*, II, 171 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*

³ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, 430.

to interfere with the meeting of Parliament during the period in question or with the Christmas revels at the court.

Assuming for the moment, then, that the King's Company was acting in London from *ca.* November 16 to January 1, 1607, what special reason presents itself why the Venetian ambassador should have paid more than twenty crowns for the performance of *Pericles* during this particular period? The story is a rather long one; various details must be set forth.

On October 19, 1606, Giustinian acknowledged the receipt of a dispatch from the Doge instructing him to buy ten thousand *stara* of good English grain to be shipped to Venice. "I must inform you," he says, "that for this exportation I shall require the royal warrant, which I shall take care to obtain so as to avoid the trouble that overtook the Grand Duke's agents in a similar affair."¹ On October 26 he writes that, since grain is rapidly increasing in value, he has already begun to buy; and a part of the grain purchased was some "many days ago" spoken for by the agents of the Duke of Tuscany. "As they are away seeing to the dispatch," he remarks, "I had an opportunity to secure this."² In the purchase of grain, he further observes, he is acting in great secrecy, since the rumor that he is buying grain for Venice, as had been the case with respect to the agents of the Duke of Tuscany, would raise greatly the price of the product desired.³ On November 9 he received orders to buy grain up to the amount of 25,000 *stara*,⁴ and before November 23 he had begged King James in the Doge's name for a license to export. James willingly promised to grant the desired license, but Salisbury, bitterly opposed to exportation, refused his permission and informed Giustinian that he would advise the king against issuing orders "so prejudicial to his country and his subjects," from whom came daily complaints and lamentations on the subject of the exportation of grain.⁵ Salisbury having a second time refused to allow him to ship the grain already purchased, Giustinian wrote on December 7 that he had appealed to the king, urging the royal license on the ground that "the grain was required solely to meet the needs of the Republic, and not, as in

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 412.

² *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

so many cases, to be sold again to the States of the Church and the Kingdom of Naples."¹ Salisbury, however, had spoken to the king on the matter, for James refused the license to export on the grounds that the granting of such a license did not strictly fall inside his province and that the exportation of a considerable amount of grain might occasion riots by the populace.² "I shall see the Earl of Salisbury again on the matter of the leave to export the grain that is already bought," concludes Giustinian. "As the whole matter lies within him I will endeavour to find out some other way by which your Serenity may be served, for this is a country in which you can obtain in one way what could not be obtained in another."

This sounds like bribery. At any rate Giustinian was successful in his labor, for on December 14 he wrote that he had obtained leave to export the grain already purchased; and he is in hopes that later on he may "obtain leave for the rest, when the price is lower." "Would to God," he exclaims, "I had to deal with no other force here than with the excellent King, a model of frankness and sincerity." On or before December 21, he had received the warrant for exportation, though it was necessary to get the document signed twice by the royal hand,³ a process of delay, thinks the Venetian, "done to exaggerate the favour conceded." On January 10, 1607, the ship bearing "600 quarters of corn" set sail for Venice.⁴

Now let us suppose that while Giustinian was strenuously working to accomplish the task discussed above, he should have conceived the idea of having a special presentation of *Pericles*, in which the hero, as a result of relieving by his shipload of corn the citizens of Tarsus, wins their gratitude to such an extent that they erect a statue in his honor and revenge with their own hands the ingratitude of their ruler and his wife toward their benefactor. Let us suppose that he should pay out more than twenty crowns for such a performance, and that he should invite to be present the Secretary of Florence, himself vitally concerned, as may well be implied from the quotations above, in the exportation of grain to Italy. Is it not reasonable to suppose that James and those informed as to Giustinian's desire to get the royal license would, in an age addicted to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

² *Ibid.*, p. 440.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

seeing analogies, detect the analogy between the incident in *Pericles* and the situation in England? Would the king, when he heard of Giustinian's performance, fail to see the suggestiveness of such a performance under such circumstances—the opportunity of being to Venice, in a sense, what Pericles was to Tarsus? And would not the populace, after this special performance of *Pericles*, be less inclined toward rioting when it learned that James had charitably signed the warrant for the shipment of English wheat to serve the needs of Venice? The populace, it should be remembered, was greatly in sympathy with Venice in her quarrel with the Pope; as early as June 21, 1606, Boderie wrote (I, 138–39): “Je crois que s’il [Venetian ambassador] vouloit accepter tous les Anglois qui s’offrent d’aller servir la Seigneurie, il tireroit la moitié d’Angleterre.”

If one is convinced that the London theaters remained closed during the period November 20, 1606, to January 8, 1607, then let us suppose that soon after the theaters opened, and about the time when the ship of corn set sail for Venice, Giustinian who, as we have already seen, was in hopes of obtaining ultimately permission to export the full amount of wheat desired by Venice, and who during the period in question was especially anxious¹ to retain the graces of James as a result of the impending trouble between the Curia and the Republic, conceived the plan of showing his appreciation of the greatness of the favor conceded “by England’s excellent King, a model of frankness and sincerity,” and that he should invite to be present at a play given with such an intention the Secretary of Florence, who also was quite naturally interested in the matter of exportation. *Pericles* presented at such a time and under such circumstances would assume a topical significance so far as the episode of the corn is concerned; and we may be pretty certain that those acquainted with Giustinian’s exportation of grain would see in the play a graceful compliment to their sovereign.

It is possible, too, that in an age eager to detect personalities in dramas the spectators who witnessed *Pericles* with the Venetian ambassador present would detect in the production other details

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603–7, pp. 460 ff. James openly declared himself in favor of the Republic, and in February, 1607, Giustinian proposed a league between Venice and England (pp. 470, 471). In March, 1607, he wrote that “the King waxes warmer and warmer on behalf of the Republic”; cf. Smith’s ed. of Wotton, I, 81 ff.

that tended to suggest King James in connection with the character of Pericles. In Gower, for example, the daughter of the hero is named Thaise; in Twine's *Painfull Adventures* her name is Tharsia; in *Pericles* she is Marina. She was named after the sea, we are told, but it is perhaps worth while to mention in this connection that James had born to him on April 19, 1605, a daughter of whom he was extremely fond. Mary was her name; she died in October, 1607.

In Gower Taliart is ordered by the tyrant king to poison Appolonius; in Twine he is commanded to slay him either with a "sword or poyson." In the play Antiochus suggests that Pericles be poisoned, but a few lines farther on (I, i, 168-69) Thaliard remarks:

If I can get him within my pistol's length,
I'll make him sure enough.

At a performance under such circumstances as those given above, it is at least conceivable that the Elizabethans should associate this incident with the alleged plot, discovered on July 17, 1606, of Neuce and Tommaso de Francchesi against the life of James.¹ In the trial of the men, the expression used by Francchesi, "good pistols and swift horses," was, it may be mentioned, urged as the most damning bit of evidence against the plotter; and as a result it was no doubt familiar enough to the gossipers and news-venders of the time. The government, writes Giustinian on August 2, is thinking of setting Ball free, but the plotter who used the words "a good pistol and a swift horse" will not easily get out of the Tower.²

In Gower the hero attracts the attention of his future bride and her father by his skill at a "game"; in Twine, by his dexterity at tennis. In the play, however, Pericles wins recognition by his prowess in a tournament. Again it is interesting to note in connection with this deviation from the sources an incident that transpired in August, 1606. Late in July, Christian IV, king of Denmark, visited England, where he remained until the following August 21. Just before he left London an elaborate tournament was held in which he and apparently James participated; and Carleton, writing on August 20, refers to the success of Christian in the courtly pastime

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 375; *ibid.*, *Domestic*, 1603-10, pp. 323-26; *Nichols, Progresses of James*, II, p. 53, note 2; *Boderio, Ambassades*, I, 203 ff.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 383.

and the poor showing made by James "at the tilt."¹ On September 6 Giustinian writes that the people of England are clamoring for war with Spain. "And so far have matters gone," he reports, "that at Hampton Court, where the Queen is, a letter has been picked up in which the King is urged to declare war, to leave the chase and turn to arms, and the example of his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, is cited, who for his prowess at the joust has won golden opinions."² The queen, says Boderie, concealed this letter from James. Boderie comments as follows:³

Si ce Paraigon du Roi de Dannemarek est venu à la connoissance de celui-ce, ç'aura bien été pour augmenter la jalousie qu'il avoit déjà conçue a l'encontre de lui; car dès qu'il étoit ici, il reconnut en plusieurs occasions, principalement lorsqu'ils couraient la bague & la lance, que le Peuple lui applaudissoit beaucoup davantage, & ouït, non sans un extrême dépit, deux ou trois fois des voix confuses qui disoient, Ah que n'avons-nous un tel Roi. Et cela joint à quelques remonstrances qui lui voulut faire ledit Roi sur le traitement de la Reine, que celui-ce ne trouva nullement bonnes, a été cause qu'ils ont demeuré moins ensemble que l'un & l'autre au commencement ne faisoient état. Tout cela s'est tenu couvert tandis que ledit Roi a été ici; mais depuis son parlement, le temps a fait ce qu'il a coutume de faire.

In a period, then, when the bad showing made by the king at the tournament was fresh in the minds of the people, it is reasonable to think that not only those who witnessed the play with Giustinian as chief spectator, but also James, when he heard of such a performance, would recognize in the martial prowess of Pericles a compliment doubly acceptable in view of the recent showing at the tournament in honor of James's Danish brother-in-law. And during a period, it may be noted, when thrusts at James were apparently rather frequent in the London theaters, flattery of any sort by his players would probably have been very acceptable to His Majesty.

These deviations from Gower and Twine are slight; they may be accounted for in various ways; nevertheless the question arises: Were they made for the purpose of further identifying the James who served Venice in her need with the Pericles who rescued the citizens of Tarsus? Possibly! Possibly they were made at the

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1603-10, p. 329.

² *Ibid.*, *Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 398.

³ Letter of September 1, 1606; *Ambassades*, I, 310-11.

suggestion of the Venetian ambassador himself; perhaps other changes made for the purpose of identification have disappeared in the play of *Pericles* as it has come down to us.

Now the theory outlined above is, I am aware, incapable of demonstration. I am aware, too, that certain objections to such a theory will inevitably arise. It seems somewhat strange, for example, that neither Giustinian nor Boderie refers to this performance mentioned by Guatz. If the play had diplomatic significance, then why this silence? We can only say that probably neither considered it of sufficient importance to his sovereign to be included in official dispatches, and that both ambassadors certainly did attend performances which had political or diplomatic significance but which are not mentioned in their reports. Again, no amount of warping, however vigorous, can make the story of *Pericles* as a whole analogous to the career of James I. It is not a question, however, whether the story *as a whole* is applicable to a succession of events in England, but a question whether one particular event in a play presented under special circumstances and at a particular time would assume a topical significance to a people eager to discern the topical element in the literature of the period.

It may be said in this connection that the story of Daniel's *Philotas* as a whole bears no resemblance to the career of Essex, still the Elizabethans "through the ignorance of the History," says the author, saw a resemblance between the two in various details. Hayward's life of Henry IV does not resemble as a whole the reign of Elizabeth, nevertheless when it appeared in 1599, the author, as a result of its suggestiveness in connection with this same Earl of Essex, was involved in serious trouble;¹ Shakespeare's *Richard II* contains no perceptible similarities as a whole to the events of English history during the reign of Elizabeth, but when it was presented during the Essex agitation of 1601, the queen saw in Richard a portrait of herself; it is difficult to see how Fulke Greville's tragedy on Antony and Cleopatra could have been regarded as a topical play, nevertheless it was "sacrificed to the fire," we are informed, because the author feared that his treatment of the lovers might be suspected of touching upon "the vices in the present governors and

¹ *Letters of Chamberlain*, Camden Soc., p. 48.

government." The story of Pericles, let me repeat, is as a whole radically different from the story of the reign of James I. In spite of this fact, however, is it unreasonable to believe that Giustinian, when he paid out more than twenty crowns for a performance of *Pericles*, had a definite diplomatic object in view and that this definite object was appreciated by the king and all those connected with the exportation of grain for the needs of the Republic?

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JOHN RASTELL'S DRAMATIC ACTIVITIES

Discoveries by Mr. Plomer of depositions in certain lawsuits involving John Rastell have established some interesting facts in Rastell's life:¹ that during the years 1520-35, when his printing-house was "at the sygne of the mearemayd next to pollys gate," Rastell, leaving his printing business to his aids, resided much of the year at his home in Finsbury Fields; that some time previous to 1526 he had erected in his "ground beside Finsbury" a stage for players, which, if we may judge from the mention of "board, timber, lath, nail, sprig and daubing" was no makeshift; that ten elaborate players' garments of colored silks and rich cloths, besides curtains and other stuffs, were prepared for Rastell, Mistress Rastell assisting tailors at the work; and that these costumes, according to the testimony of one witness in the lawsuit, had been "occupied three or four years in playing and disguising" before Rastell, leaving for France, lent them to one Walton.

In this theatrical venture of Rastell's there seems to have been a definite purpose, which probably produced definite literary results in the plays he wrote and printed. Rastell's letter to Cromwell near the end of his life expresses his spirit and purpose: "I regard ryches as much as I do chypps, save only to have a lyffing to lyff out of det; . . . But I desyre most so to spend my tyme to do somewhat for the commyn welth, as God be my Juge."² The same ideal is set forth by the Messenger who speaks the Prologue in *The Nature of the Four Elements*, written by Rastell not long before 1520, that is, around the time when he must have inaugurated his theatrical venture.³ A desire to educate the people and to promote a worthy literature in the English tongue is also strongly expressed in this

¹ H. R. Plomer in *Bibliographica*, II, 437-51, and *Trans. of Bibliographical Soc.*, IV, 155-57. The papers concerning Rastell's stage are printed in full by A. W. Pollard in *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, pp. 307-21, a volume of the new "English Garner."

² Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3d Series, II, 311.

³ Professor Wallace's argument in *Evolution of the Drama*, p. 16, note, that Bale's use of the word *edidit* in mentioning the play under Rastell's name does not indicate authorship is without value, for, as Professor Manly points out to me, Bale employs the word in various works to indicate authorship.

Prologue. In the same spirit Rastell simplified history, choosing chiefly facts of English history, and published his work in 1529 under the title *The Pastime of People*. His publication of plays seems to have been inspired by the same purpose, and I think it probable that he either wrote or helped to write for his own stage the majority of the plays published by him. Disregarding detailed internal evidence for Rastell's authorship of several of these plays, I wish simply to suggest here briefly the possibility that a number of the plays from Rastell's press owe at least their inception to his plan for a stage that should profit his community.

The interlude *Of Gentylnes and Nobyltye* ends with the statement: "Johēs rastell me fieri fecit." Mr. Pollard takes this to refer, not to printing, but at least to production and probably to joint authorship,¹ and I believe that he is correct. In tone and in the instruction for the common people this play accords exactly with Rastell's plans. *Calisto and Melebea* concludes, "Johēs rastell me imprimi fecit," and Professor Gayley remarks that Rastell perhaps wrote the play as well as caused it to be printed.² Certainly its suitability to Rastell's program seems to me hardly fortuitous. *Calisto and Melebea* belongs to a series of translated or adapted plays printed by Rastell, all of which might have been utilized for his stage.³ There is at least strong reason for believing that Rastell and some associate⁴ translated the *Andria* of Terence, published, presumably by Rastell, about 1520. The following passages from the Prologue of *The Four Elements* and the Epilogue of *Andria* are so similar⁵ and express Rastell's aims so well that I judge the *Andria* passage to be from his pen:

¹ Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, I, 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxviii.

³ Rastell's natural assistants in the work of adapting these plays would be the members of More's household or group. Cf. Watson, *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, for the activity of the More household at this period in translating into English works dealing with the instruction of women. *Calisto and Melebea* may be a product of the same zeal.

⁴ The translators are constantly spoken of in the plural in the Prologue and the Epilogue. These two parts are printed in Flügel's *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 96-99, and an extract from the play itself in Collier's *Hist. Dram. Poetry* (1831), II, 365, n.

⁵ The Prologue of *Andria* enforces the similarity between the two statements.

Four Elements

But though the matter be not so well
 declaryd
 As a great clerke coude do nor so sub-
 stancyall
 Yet the auctour
 The grekes the romayns with many
 other mo
 In their moder tonge wrot warkes ex-
 cellent
 Than yf clerkes in this realme wolde
 take payn so
 Consydering that our tonge is now
 sufficyent
 To expoun any hard sentence euydent
 They myght yf they wolde in our eng-
 lyse tonge
 wryte workys of grauyte somtyme
 amonge

 Than yf connyng lateen bokys were
 translate
 In to Englyshe wel correct and appro-
 bate
 All subtell sciens in englyshe myght be
 lernyd.

Andria

And for this thig is broughte ito theglish
 tong
 We pray you all not to be discontent
 For the laten boke which hath be veyd
 so long
 Was translate owt of greke this is euy-
 dent
 And sith our english tong is now suffi-
 cient
 The matter to expresse we think it best
 alway
 Before english men in english it to play.
 Yet they think the self that this thing
 haue done
 Not able to do this sufficiently
 But for it shuld be a prouocacion
 To them that can do it more substan-
 cyally
 To translate this agayn or some other
 comedy
 For the erudicōn of them that will lern.

The English translation of Lucian's *Necromantia* which Rastell printed along with the Latin may also be from his pen. According to the title, the work is a "dialog of the poet Lucyen, for his fantesye faynyd for a mery pastyme"—perhaps an indication that it was intended for dramatic performance—and was "translated out of Laten into English for the erudicion of them, which be disposyd to lerne the tongis." The choice of Lucian may have been due to More's earlier translation of Lucian into Latin. Finally, the fragment of *The Prodigal Son*, translated from a Latin dialogue of Textor, is ascribed to Rastell's press and to the decade with which we are dealing. It is sufficient to say that all these translations admirably fit Rastell's purpose in his stage venture and that such work is quite in keeping with his compilation from various sources for *The Pastime*

of *People* and *The Four Elements*.¹ Rastell and his collaborators, whoever they were, aimed, not at originality, but at instruction.

Though a strong didactic purpose in the drama would seem to associate Rastell with the old spirit of the moralities, and though *The Four Elements* is in method clearly under the influence of the moralities, Rastell's affiliations are with the new spirit of humanism, which furnished much of the material even for *The Four Elements*. It is true that Rastell probably lacked an intense passion for profound learning and for church reform; but all the plays which may be associated with his name deal with themes or are drawn from sources indicating a humanistic outlook, and the hint of the reformer's spirit in his plays is all the more significant when we remember that, in spite of the powerful influence of his brother-in-law More, Rastell finally allied himself with the Reformation. Whether or not Rastell was as important a figure in the early Tudor drama as I have implied, passages from his undisputed writings reveal him as one of the finest spirits produced by the impulses of the New Learning. He was seemingly the earliest outspoken champion of the vernacular; he was far more democratic than the group of greater men whose names are especially associated with the humanistic movement; he was the first of the Englishmen who showed a zeal for employing the drama to spread the newer ideals of the age—a zeal which was quenched only by the Puritans of Elizabeth's reign. At the same time, his efforts were tempered by a sweet reasonableness lacking in many Continental champions of a new Christian drama, and notably in his countryman Bale, who also used the vernacular to broaden his appeal.

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¹ Skelton's *Magnificence*, printed by Rastell, was written seemingly near the time when Rastell began the work of producing plays, and may have been presented on his stage. The fragment of *Lucrece* is probably another work from Rastell's press which, though suited to his didactic purpose, was independent of his suggestion. The title given by Halliwell-Phillipps from an old edition corroborates in some details Creizenach's conclusions as to source (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 200, 201). Halliwell-Phillipps ascribes the play to Medwall and to a date about 1490.

